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**PEKING**  
**THE GOAL,-THE SOLE HOPE**  
**OF**  
**PEACE.**

COMPRISING AN INQUIRY INTO THE  
ORIGIN OF THE PRETENSION OF  
UNIVERSAL SUPREMACY

BY

**CHINA**

AND INTO THE CAUSES OF THE

**FIRST WAR :**

WITH INCIDENTS OF THE IMPRISONMENT  
OF THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY AND OF

**THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF CANTON.**

1841.

BY

**GIDEON NYE, JR.**

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE  
AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SOCIETY :  
AUTHOR OF RATIONALE OF THE CHINA QUESTION ;  
THE MEMORABLE YEAR, &c, &c.

**CANTON.**  
1873.

GIFT OF  
HORACE W. CARPENTIER









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Nye, G.

Peking, the goal; the sole hope  
of peace.

**PEKING THE GOAL,—  
THE SOLE HOPE OF PEACE.**

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CANTON  
COMMUNITY ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 14th, 1873.  
by Mr. NYE :— IN CONTINUATION OF THAT OF  
JANUARY 31st.

HONORABLE R. G. W. JEWELL,  
CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES, IN THE CHAIR.—  
JUDGE JEWELL :—  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

Following my tracing of  
the course of events, as you honored me by do-  
ing on a former occasion,—with an indulgent  
attention that claims all my gratitude,—you  
had not failed to perceive that we had reached  
the point when, for the first time in History,  
the Sovereigns of Britain and China were  
brought face to face in political relations ;—  
the point where plain “yes” and “no” was to

expound the text of the future between them, without the intervention of Chiefs of Company or Co-Hong.—

And the immediate steps by which the cause of the West had been brought to this desiderated point; and attained, as it were by one bound, to '*the height of this high argument*,' had not escaped your notice.— You observed that at the most critical moment,—when, as Dr. Bridgman afterward wrote,—“had there been only a little more “excitement, Canton might have become another Black Hole or the scene of indiscriminate slaughter,”—Sir Charles Elliot suddenly appeared upon the scene of our imprisonment and wrought an immediate change in the whole character of the attitude in which the community stood toward the Chinese.—

Rarely have a community so narrowly escaped a great disaster; and, rescued as we all felt we were from a sad fate, by his gallantry and consummate tact, no one failed to admire, also, the brilliant address by which he irrevocably fixed the responsibility of the Imperial Government; and thus made the high-handed acts of the renowned “queller of the barbarian spirit,”—High Commissioner Lin,—the initial point of the new relations between the Christian Nations and China.—



*Quelled*, as the 'barbarian spirit' was assumed to be by its imprisonment under guard of the "able-bodied of the people," it had not lost its diplomatic dexterity ; and it *turned the tables* so completely that a new code of relations was at once revealed, without the aid of other "spirits" than those invoked by the redoubtable Queller himself.

We may *now* expend a joke upon the great Yum-Chae ; but *he* was terribly in earnest *then*, and his inflammatory appeals to the people were fraught with peril for us prisoners.—

The gravest of realities, short of a wholesale immolation or general slaughter, rendered longer temporising but a temptation and a snare for Imperial weakness and credulity ; and imposed upon England,—as conscious of her own strength as of the rectitude of her attitude toward China,—the duty, as well to China as to civilization, of proceeding to Peking to disabuse the Emperor, at once, of the untenable nature of the pretension of Supremacy and of the imputations of his Vice Roys.—

It was then that the question between the Christian West and the Pagan East expanded to its grand proportions ; and certain as it had been years before, as I have

said, that its solution would only be found in some overt act of China, so now it appeared to the most attentive observers that no effectual settlement could be attained except at the seat of Government.—Peking, then, was the Goal,—the *Spes Unica*—Sole hope of Peace. And this shall be the burden of our theme to-night.

The practical difficulty had been to reach the Emperor with any truthful representations of the state of our relations,—so that neither redress of injuries or precaution for future exigencies, had been possible. But, in point of fact, the question was not a mere matter of incidents or details,—evolved from *existing* relations:—*It was the fundamental political question at the very base of intercourse*,—to which all else was subordinate. Dominating all others, there was involved in this political question the claim of universal supremacy by the Emperors of China.

As ViceRoy Loo had told us, in 1834, of the universal sway of the Celestial Empire:—“Under its *shelter* are the four “Seas: Subject to its *soothing care* are ten “thousand Kingdoms! How *flaming bright* “are its great laws and ordinances. More “terrible than the awful thunderbolt! *Under* “this whole bright Heaven, none dare to dis- “obey them.”

We have also seen that the pertinacity of Loo's successor, the Vice-Roy Tang,—in arrogantly asserting preeminence for the Authorities of China, compelled Sir Charles Elliot to haul down the British Flag in 1837, and retire again to Macao; after his well-intended efforts to ameliorate relations by conciliatory declarations:—Tang having insisted in exacting the use of the form of "*Pin*," or Petition, in all Sir Charles' communications with the local Authorities.

And the significance of these assumptions of the Vice-Roys must be borne in mind as exponents of the Imperial Will.—

It may to-day seem to some a mere *puerility* to stand on so small a point of *etiquette* as a *Pin*; but, though *we* may not regard such formalities, yet the essential *point* was that the Authorities of China *pinned* their whole faith upon these observances,—rightly regarding the principle of obedience as at stake. We may say that in this they shewed more regard for *Rites* than for *Rights*; but from their own point of view, they were quite logical and consistent:—And if we regard the preceding facts of History, shewing as they do the maintenance of this attitude of supremacy toward other Nations, and substantially the acquiescence of most other Nations,—

for several centuries and down to recent times, —we shall find no reason to impeach the good-faith of the then Emperor, Taou Kwang, in holding to the conservatism of his Ancestors.

(We must look to a later period for Imperial bad-faith and upon a very different issue ; although the Provincial Officers had shewn it in several notable instances and even when life was at stake.)—

China's egotism was legitimately derived :—She had emancipated herself from the feudal system many centuries whilst yet Europe wore us shackles,—down to the dawn of commercial enterprize heralded by the birth of Don Henry of Portugal :—Whom a gifted Poet has celebrated in the following stanza ; and in whose imperishable renown all of English descent may claim a share, as his Mother was of English blood :—

“When, from the ancient gloom emerg'd  
The rising World of Trade :—the Genius then  
Of Navigation, that in hopeless sloth  
Had slumber'd on the vast Atlantic deep  
For idle ages, starting, heard at last  
The Lusitanian Prince,—who, Heaven-inspir'd,  
To love of useful glory roused mankind ;  
And in unbounded Commerce mixt the World.”

Long after this auspicious era began, and after de-Gama's prow clove the charmed circle of the Eastern Cape, and his

‘bold and happy bowsprit bore against the rising morn;’—down to when in Camoens’ stately numbers ran the homage of the West :—

“From Ainam bay † begins the ancient reign  
Of China’s beauteous art-adorn’d domain ;  
Wide, from the burning to the frozen skies—  
O’er flow’d with wealth, the potent Empire lies.”

—down to those and to later times, the pre-eminence of China was unchallenged in the East.

And when the tide of Western commerce began to beat along her shores, she opposed a resolute front to the foreigner as a constituted and compacted Empire, self-sustained and self-sufficient; and has since offered but one instance of successful revolution, when the present dynasty achieved the conquest of the Empire.—

And I may instance the direct testimony of a very accomplished Gentleman, as to the general opinion and impression existing in Europe and amongst Europeans here, nearly a century ago.—

Major Shaw, a distinguished Officer under Washington in the War of the Revolution,—the first American Consular Agent here,—who enjoyed the distinguished consideration of the East India Company’s Chief and other Foreigners writing in 1784, says :—

† The Gulf of Tonquin.

“All we know with certainty respecting the  
“Empire of China is, that it has long existed—  
“a striking evidence of the wisdom of its Gov-  
“ernment,—and still continues, the admira-  
“tion of the World.”—

Such was the estimation in which China was regarded by all the World, 90 years ago,—nor was it lessened by the results of Lord Macartney’s Embassy a few years after. That being the case,—if we consider that not only were the two systems of England and China co-working in the spirit of monopoly and restriction,—but that, practically, the whole Foreign trade and intercourse was of the same character, we must admit that the Court of Peking could not, in logical fairness, be reproached with unreasoning egotism or bigotry when,—in 1834,—it shrank from authorizing any radical change of relations,—such as a recognition of Lord Napier, in a political or diplomatic capacity, would have been.—

It was unreasonable to expect the spirit of Free Trade and much less the “Spirit of the Age,”—however reinforced by domestic events in England and a consequent change in the relations of British subjects to their own Government in its control of the China Trade,—to penetrate to the inaccessible

Court of the Emperor at the very moiment of the first knocking at the portal.—

And it were unphilosophical not to recall,—as forming ample justification of the reserved attitude of China at that period,—the *fact*, that a powerful party in England, as in other States of the West, were still reluctant spectators of, rather than willing participators, in the new-born zeal for Free Trade and unrestrained intercourse.—Such was no doubt the feeling that actuated the more enlightened statesmen of England, in abstaining from premature pressure upon the Government of China,—notwithstanding that the circumstances of Lord Napier's death formed in themselves, ostensibly, a legitimate grievance.

If, then, we exclude all consideration of the graver motives suggested to thoughtful statesmen of China,—by the hostilities between European Nations, which sometimes, and even so late as 1814, had reached their own shores, and ignore the fact that they had also traditions of the days of Elizabeth, “when there was no Peace beyond the Line,”—as imposing caution and deliberation,—we cannot attribute to them the fault of being laggards in Free Trade, when we consider further, that there had been long established here, as the sole medium of interchange be-

tween their respective Countries and China,—the British East-India Company, the Dutch East-India Company, the Swedish East-India Company, the Imperial (Austrian) East-India Company, and Merchants from other Countries upon a similar footing,—thus comprising the principal Nations of the World.—

With this formidable array of monopoly on the part of those Nations, we may ask,—was China to come forward voluntarily and open her gates to a deluge of change?—Or was it reasonable to expect her to listen to the voice of the first charmer?

It was not, therefore, that China was wanting in logical reasoning, derived from her past experience, that a rupture was inevitable: It was that a state of relations precluding a frank interchange between the respective Governments, was no longer tolerable or even safe,—after the changes imposed in other Countries by the expanding spirit of the age and especially those effected by legislation in England,—which transferred from the hands of the Agents of monopoly, the whole control of the relations with China, to the liberalized executive Government of England. Then, and thus, arose the imperative necessity for England's Ambassadors to reach Peking.

The rupture was precipitated by the act of China and in despite of distinct



overtures by Sir Charles Elliot months before, to the Vice-Roy Tang,—offering to coöperate with the Chinese Authorities in the suppression of the excesses in the Opium Trade. That high-minded Representative of England thenceforward stood blameless before China, as before the World, if, indeed, his conciliatory approaches of a year before had not entitled him to be so regarded ; and having on that occasion maintained his own and his Sovereign's dignity, he was able,—upon reappearing upon the scene here,—to assert the rights of his countrymen becomingly and resolutely.—He came, in fact, as the Retriever of the Foreign position, hitherto more seriously compromised from hour to hour.—

At once all interest converged upon him ; and his demand for Passports for his countrymen, was answered by a closer imprisonment of all Foreigners and the command to deliver all the Opium in ships wherever they might be, with the threats of extreme penalties and the release of himself and the community made conditional upon the faithful delivery of it.—

Thus, it was an *incident* of the hitherto-restricted intercourse that carried the appeal to Peking, whose origin was the default of China, as essentially as the rupture

itself was her own act,—*in that she imposed the restrictions which precluded an amicable understanding.* Hence, although the Opium Trade was the *proximate* cause of the rupture, the origin of the War was much more remote and long anterior to any complaints about Opium ;—its germ having always existed in the restrictive system founded upon the assumption of supremacy.—

Thus, then, to denominate that War "*The Opium War*"—by way of reproach, is a gratuitous reflection upon England, as the enlightened American Statesman Ex-President John Quincy Adams, declared at the time; and thus, in demanding from the Emperor international relations, assuring future security, England was but discharging her duty to China and to Civilization,—and therein representing all the Western Nations.—

It is well that I was thus emphatic upon this point in the draft of this Lecture, as I notice that a Reviewer of my 1st Lecture, in the Daily-Press of the 10th inst, erroneously assumed that I had characterized the rupture as "*the first Opium War.*"

Turning from this attempted *rationale* of the relative positions of the parties in controversy, attained down to the moment when Sir Charles Elliot, with all other For-

eigners,—being held a close prisoner in the Factories,—issued the public Notice of the 3rd. April 1839, which I read to you, I now resume the thread of narrative.—

Upon being apprised by Sir Charles that he held no control over other than British Subjects and could not, therefore, compel the delivery—as he, the Imperial Commissioner, had enjoined upon him to do,—of any Opium held by other persons, Lin, after issuing an Edict to the Chamber of Commerce, requiring a clear statement of the names and surnames of all the Consuls of other Powers,—then issued one to each of them demanding such Opium: When Mr. Snow the American Consul replied that already 1.540 Chests,—being the property of British subjects consigned to American Merchants,—had been surrendered through H. B. M's. Representative to him, (the Commissioner), he shewed as much ignorance as distrust, by insisting in another Edict addressed to Mr. Wetmore, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, that Consul Snow should surrender a quantity of Opium not less than the 20.000 and odd Chests given up by Sir Charles Elliot.—And a somewhat similar Edict was addressed to Mr. Senn van Basel the Dutch Consul.—

Mr. Van Loffelt, representing France at the

time, being at Macao, escaped similar applications.—

From the 24th of March, when every Chinese was driven from the Factories and no food or even a bucket of water allowed us, until about the 3rd of April, all minds were in painful suspense; and various conjectures as to what might be our fate were hazarded,—some taking the more gloomy view at first and suggesting, as the most *cheerful* hypothesis, our having to force our way across Honam to the shipping at Whampoa, with the loss of half our number: But as there were not known to be a dozen pistols or other fire arms in the Factories and these were single barrelled,—Revolvers or the like not having been invented,—it seemed hopeless to oppose 200 unarmed Europeans to hundreds of thousands of matchlock and spearmen.—

And when it was rumored that the Chinese had heard of the arrival off Macao of an American frigate, and some person suggested the advisability of her forcing the passage of the Bogue,—my friend Mr. Hunter sensibly replied, that in the existing temper of the Yum-Chae, such an act would impel him to precipitate the mob upon us with sanguinary slaughter,—when the ruins of the Bogue forts would not be viewed by our kindred as worthy

monuments to our memory or sufficing compensation for our lives ; however conspicuously they might mark the gallantry of the Naval Officers.

A little later Mr Hunter was sufficiently reassured to expend a joke upon a novice in Chinese symbols, who suddenly descriing one of the large blue Flags of Military Mandarins, which bear a character or symbol such as imaginary terrors might picture as the ominous Crossed Bones, flying in front of the Honam Temple, sought an explanation of Mr Hunter, who saw his opportunity ; and I am afraid, left the timid Gentleman in considerable doubt, if not in great trepidation :—The truth being that the Temple was used as the head quarters of one of the Chiefs, posted there to prevent our escape toward Whampoa.

Gradually we all regained composure ; and for variety's sake sometimes went to dine with Parsee friends, whose servants—being natives of India—got access to the small market at the top of China Street and bought capons and chickens for curries.—In the Lung-Shun or Old-English Hong, where I lived with my Cousin, the residents profited by the misfortune of the Supercargoes, Captain and boat's crew of a Philadelphia Ship, whose departure for home was cut off, just as they

had gotten into their boat with the Grand Chop (Port Clearance) in their hands,—the Captain and his sailors undertaking the Cooking of dinners for the whole Hong ; each resident of the several Factories furnishing such Hams and other food for the general table as he happened to have : But we each got Breakfast at home ; and I remember that my Cousin and myself used to agree upon a division of labor in boiling the Eggs and Rice, opening the tins of Sardines, sweeping floors, &c. &c : —Our stock being just exhausted when an old Coolie made his appearance and by stealth began to bring us chickens under his jacket, at the risk of his own neck.—That coolie was not forgotten in after years ; and his Widow received a pension for 10 to 15 years after his death.— The Supercargoes thus imprisoned with us were the Messrs Tiers, of whom I have before spoken as the first to bring to Canton some of the Negro melodies. then recently introduced into the Middle and Northern States of America from the South, one of these Gentlemen performing on the Guitar and the other on the Flute, or singing by turns : And in the *ennui* of our long imprisonment, even the older members of the community did not disdain participation in those early “Social Evenings,” enlivened by their melodious, although somewhat comical strains.—

The most venerable Gentleman of the Community was Mr. Snow, the American Consul,—who being subject to rheumatism, had previously shewn little inclination to leave his seat at any time and in whom, consequently, the change from a singularly dignified and reserved official,—habitually seated *in state*, as it were,—to a sweeper of floors and similarly humble domestic duties, was ludicrous to behold.—And I am here reminded of an amusing incident of the somewhat serious riot of the 3rd of December, when I sought shelter in Mr Snow's factory, with Sir James Matheson and others ;—where, as the glass of the windows crashed under their showers of stones, the mob roared like thousands of wild beasts at bay ; and my venerable friend, at each successive howl, nervously grasped his left arm with his right hand, piteously groaning "*oh my pains*"; his young friend, to cheer him, responding—"ah, yes, I see—your window *panes are* suffering a little".—But, I suspect that although when well Mr Snow was a resolute man, he then thought his young friend's joking was akin to Nero's fiddling when Rome was burning ; and a few month's later,—after Lin's insidious and inflammatory flattery of the masses, that young friend appreciated the gravity of the situation himself.—

At the réunions in our Hong there were almost as many English Gentlemen as Americans, as we invited some from other Hongs frequently ; so that in reality our “Social Evenings” of that period more than vied in sociability, as between Gentlemen, with these in whose more refined geniality I have now the honor to bear a part ; but there was always the disability imposed by the heartless Mandarins, in the interdiction of all of Womankind,—so that we were unanimous in denouncing their pertinacity in this already-stigmatised example of

“*Man’s inhumanity to man ;*

and as unanimous in pronouncing as impossible their being classed among the ordinary race of *man-kind*. they obviously being quite another *kind* of man.—

In the actual circumstances, we were fain to “*manage ’gainst despairing thought*” as best we might ; and consoled each other with Songs and pleasantries of somewhat varied character,—verging upon the convivial as the evening wore away.

And pent up in our Cage, as in very truth we were, like the animals in the

Zöological Gardens,

you will excuse our gambols when a bone was thrown to us by our Keepers, or the hope of



release elated us; and accept the few trivialities that I recall as not unseemingly illustrations of the natural rebound from grave to gay.

The eldest person of our reunions was Mr Samuel B. Rawle, who afterward resided many years at Hongkong and Macao, at which last port he died, when American Consul there; and whose name was made the burden of one of the refrains in the social Song of "Viva la Companie" led by Mr Tiers with his Guitar, following which I was appealed to with:—

And there's another man who fights very shy,

Viva la Companie;

But 'spite of his dodging I'm sure 'ts Mr Nye;

Viva la Companie:—

To which the response was:—

There's no hedging or dodging as you say appears,

Viva la Companie;

Since after *Rawle* you have moved me with *Tiers*;

Viva la Companie.

But it was not with this puerility that I intended to link his name,—genial as gentlemanly though he was; but rather, with the name of another of my Countrymen, whose pure fame has become the proud heritage of two kindred peoples:—

I need scarcely pronounce the name of

George Peabody.

Mr Rawle told us of a young Lady—who crossed the Atlantic with his Wife and Daughter,—who had just refused Mr Peabody's offer of

marriage, which was considered as somewhat strange, as he was then already classed among the wealthy ; but whether she was then conscious or not of his worth or wealth in general estimation, neither she or he could then measure the influence that her refusal may have had upon his subsequent career, nor anticipate the moral splendor of its close :—

When,—after inscribing his name in letters of Gold, high up on the roll of the Worthies who have been the benefactors of mankind,—he sank peacefully to rest, assured that those letters of Gold were to become letters of Light, —beneficent guiding Stars,—to future generations of the favorites of fortune.—

Such was the unfading glory of his Sunset ; nor should we forget that he had been one of that small, but resolute band of Men who, in its darkest days, contributed to the final success of the Atlantic Telegraph ;—*the great Artery that is reuniting the kindred blood of Albion and Columbia and throbbing through the profound depths of the Ocean to every pulsation of Christendom.*

Among other English Gentlemen, there was the excellent Mr Holliday, who had recently come from Manila to establish the House of Robert Wise Holliday & Co. and whose appearance amongst us always

heralded more than “a jollyday” in the refrain of our Song.

There was also Mr Samuel Fearon—since Professor of Chinese in the University of London,—who not only spoke with fluency the language of the people, but sang their songs in admirably-characteristic *false* *setto* and with as characteristic a toss of the head.—

Among other humorous conceits, we had a rehearsal of an imaginary debate in Parliament upon the question of our imprisonment; each of the leading celebrities of the House of Commons coming to the front with his *pro* or *con*,—Mr Fearon with admirable *aplomb*, making speeches very attractive in form, if not profound in matter; and the debate ending with applause:—to be succeeded by a conundrum that was accepted as foreshadowing the displeasure of the Emperor at the excesses of Lin, which afterward led to his public disgrace.—

The conundrum being propounded thus:—

“When valiant Mars from the West arrives on the shores of China, what will be the Emperor’s first question?”—

He will inquire his birth and *lineage*.—

Between Mr Fearon and the Messrs Tiers a somewhat ambitious musical



Mandarins, with Hong Merchants and Linguists, on the part of the Chinese; and the Dutch and American Consuls and several Merchants: The object being the obtaining of the Bond of all Foreigners not to deal in Opium.—

On the 10th the Imperial Commissioner and other Mandarins started for the Bogue, to witness in person the delivery of the Opium.—

Frequently, at night, some of the high Officers visited the squares in front of the Factories to see whether a faithful watch and ward was kept over their sleeping prisoners.—

About the middle of April a paper which appeared to be a letter addressed to the Queen of England by the High Commissioner and several other Officers, requiring the interdiction of Opium, was circulated among the Chinese. About the same time the grave matter of memorializing home Governments engaged the attention of the residents of the respective Countries, one of the youngest,—your humble servant,—making a somewhat ambitious attempt in drafting one to the Congress of the United States, dated April 23rd 1839, a copy of which I found in 1870. It is at least a very wordy document; of con-

siderable interest to its author, after having been out of sight for 31 years :—And leaving to another occasion its most essential suggestive point, I may hereat claim for it the merit of containing the germ of the coöperative policy—if meritorious that is—in the last of the following paragraphs.—

“Moved by these considerations” (alluding to the context) “we beg leave to submit to your decision, the expediency of appointing a Minister to the Court of Peking, empowered to establish equitable relations; whereby his right of residence at the seat of Government would be secured as a preliminary;—when, as we believe, all reasonable propositions for the mutual security of Trade and intercourse would be entertained by the Supreme Government.

“We have stated our belief that Great Britain will view the pressing grievances herein set forth, with others of older infliction, as sufficient ground of intervention; and will accordingly equip a sufficient force to accomplish the purposes in view; or, at least, to powerfully coerce the Chinese Government. And we beg leave to submit, that in such an event our Commerce will be rendered still more precarious; and the necessity for the presence of a sufficient Naval force to protect the interests involved, thereby become quite

imperative : In case it is not deemed advisable by your Honorable Bodies to combine with that or other Powers, for the same objects.—

“To urge this last step there appear to your Memorialists some powerful considerations ; arising from the jealous fear of the Chinese Government that England designs encroachment upon its territory, and from other causes which originate in the ignorance incident to their unyielding exclusive policy. This fear would be calmed by the union of America with England, as she is free of such suspicion ; whilst the unanimity of several powerful Nations would be still more influential upon this peculiar, and in some respects admirable, but really feeble Government.”

On the 14th May a joint Edict of the Commissioner and Vice Roy was issued, whose tenor shews the stringency of the rules by which the community had been held prisoners the previous six weeks ; and that, although they were quite disposed to encourage the reopening of the legal trade, they would not yet relax their grip upon the sixteen persons whom they specially indicated as hostages for the completion of the delivery of the Opium.

On the 5th the triple cordon

of soldiers and boats was removed ; and on the 6th the first passage boat left for Macao with about 50 passengers.

On the 8th, a joint Edict of the Commissioner and Vice Roy was addressed to the English Superintendent, the American Consul Snow and the Dutch Consul Van Basel, replying to the several original demands of those Officers, for Passports permitting their return to their respective countries at the head of their people :—

“These addresses coming before us and being  
“duly authenticated, we reply, China has  
“indeed no need of commercial intercourse  
“with outer barbarians. But because you have  
“come from afar over the Seas, it cannot bear  
“to push you utterly away : After, then. the  
“full completion of the present deliveries, let  
“it be even as requested. It shall be left to  
“you entirely to return to your Countries.  
“You will not be allowed to make pretexs for  
“procrastination and delay. And after you  
“have thus returned, you will not be allowed  
“to come back. Let there be no turning  
“backwards and forwards, no inconstancy,  
“wherby investigations and proceedings will  
“be involved. All you Foreigners of every  
“Nation, should you not come hither, there  
“the matter rests ; but should you come to the  
“territory of the Celestial Court, be you fore-



“igners of any Country whatsoever, so often  
“as Opium is brought, in all cases, in accord-  
“ance with the new Law,—the parties shall be  
“capitally executed, and their property entire-  
“ly confiscated. Say not that it was not told  
“you beforehand.”—

Whereupon Sir Charles Elliot issued a brief Public Notice to British Subjects by way of reply, which I beg now to read because it points out the grave errors of the Chinese Officials as affecting the safety of the lives of innocent persons.—

*Public Notice to British Subjects.*

“The Chief Superintendent yesterday received an Edict of which the annexed is a copy, to the joint address of the Consul of the King of Holland, the Consul of the United States, and himself. By this Law the ships and crews of all Nations, henceforward arriving in China, are liable to the penalties, the first, of confiscation, and the last, of death, upon the determination of this government that they have introduced Opium. The danger of confiding to this government the administration of any judicial process concerning Foreigners, can scarcely be more strikingly manifested than in the list of names lately proscribed by the High Commissioner. Evidence that has been good to satisfy His Excellency that these sixteen

persons are principal parties concerned in introducing Opium, and therefore to justify their detention as hostages, would of course be equally good for other convictions of the like nature. It may be taken to be certain, however, that the list contains the names of persons who have never been engaged in such pursuits, or, let it be added, in any other contraband practice. In investigation upon such subjects, the Chinese Authorities would probably be guiltless of any deliberate intention to commit acts of juridical spoliation and murder; but it is plain, that in the present state of intercourse, there would be excessive risk of such consequences, and therefore the present law is incompatible with safe or honorable continuance at Canton, if nothing else had happened to establish the same conclusion. It places, in point of fact, the lives, liberty and property of the whole foreign community here at the mercy of any reckless Foreigners outside and more immediately at the disposal of the Hong Merchants, linguists, compradors, and their retainers. The Chief Superintendent by no means ascribes general wickedness to those parties, but their situation and liabilities make them very unsafe reporters, and yet it is mainly upon their reports that the judgment of the government will be taken.

It will be particularly observed that persons remaining are understood by the Government to assent to the reasonableness of the Law."

On the 14th of May orders were given to remove the terraces from the tops of houses ; fill up the creek or inlet in front ; permanently close every passage to the Factories except Old China Street ; and re-inclose the square since called the American Garden ; and forbidding the shop keepers to put up signs with names in English upon them ; and those in buildings abutting on the Factories were ordered to leave their premises within ten days.—

On the 19th May Sir Charles Elliot issued a brief Notice to British subjects as follows :—

*Public Notice.*

"The Chief Superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China gives notice and enjoins all H. M.'s subjects, either actually in China, or hereafter arriving, Merchants, supercargoes, commanders, commanding Officers of ships, seamen, or others, having control over, or serving on board of British ships or vessels, bound to the port of Canton, not to be requiring, aiding, or assisting in any way in the bringing into the said port of Canton any such British ship or vessel, to the great danger of British life, liberty and property, and the prejudice of the interest and just claims of the Crown, till a declaration shall be published under his hand and seal of office to the effect that such bringing in of British shipping, or of British property in foreign shipping, is safe in the premises. And the Chief superintendent making these solemn injunctions for the safety of British life, liberty and property, and

in the protection of the interests and just claims of the British Crown, reserves to H. M.'s government in the most complete manner the power to cancel and disregard all future claims whatever, on the part of H. M.'s subjects or others, preferring such claims on account of British property, either left behind, or to be brought in, if any such British subjects or others preferring such claims shall disregard these injunctions now put forward, respecting the keeping out of British shipping and property, till the declaration aforesaid shall be duly published. May 19th 1839."—

Thus the purpose of H. B. M.'s Representative to prevent the continuance of British Trade after the departure of the imprisoned and the detained ships at Whampoa, was declared; and but one or two vessels succeeded during the next 22 months in evading the injunction.—

About the same time the Hoppoo refused the usual permission for the larger ships to go below the second bar to complete their lading, which appeared to shew a disposition still to detain the shipping: And soon after an order was sent to Macao to measure the 40 to 50 ships lying in Macao roads, the idea being that smuggling could thus be detected; whereas, as is well known, ships lie deeper in the fresh water of rivers than in an open roadstead where the water partakes of the buoyancy of the Sea.—

On the 22nd of May Sir Charles Elliot notified H. B. M. subjects, in more distinct and comprehensive terms, to prepare

to leave Canton with Her Majesty's Establishment ; warning and enjoining upon those then in China and those who might thereafter arrive, not to aid in the bringing into the port any British Vessel or property, until he should publish a declaration permitting such entry ; that such sudden and strong measures as might be found necessary on the part of H. M. Government, could not be prejudiced by their violation of these warnings and injunctions.

On the 23rd he issued a brief notice of his intended departure the next day, requesting the persons lately detained by command of the Chinese Government, to be ready to accompany him, and further requesting that no general assemblage of H. M. Subjects should then take place.—

Accordingly he left at 5 P. M. of the 24th ; and immediately after, the guards were removed, when the populace rushed into the open spaces, eager to observe the changes of the two months of our probation.—

Before leaving Canton the most of the British Firms signed a memorial addressed to H. M. Government, briefly representing their grievances and stating their opinion that

“some serious alterations in the relations with this Empire were indispensably necessary.”

They added the following just tribute to the meritorious conduct of Sir Charles Elliot.—

“We feel it our duty to express our deep sense of the public spirit which induced this Officer, at no inconsiderable risk, to rescue British life and property from a position of fearful jeopardy; and we may assure your Lordship that but one feeling existed of the extreme peril of the whole community at the period when he succeeded in forcing his way to Canton and took charge of all responsibility in the negotiations with the Chinese Government.—

On the 29th the Authorities published the mandate of the Emperor to the following effect,—and in words plainly betraying the consciousness of the August Sovereign that his Officers had not been faithful before : “On the present occasion the investigation and procedure respecting the foreign Opium at Canton, has been most faithful and true; we certainly do not entertain the slightest suspicion of deception. Moreover, as the distance for it to be transported (if sent to Peking) is very great let it be destroyed on the Coast in the presence of Lin and the others.”

The same day H. M. Sloop “Larne” and the chartered Clipper “Ariel” sailed for the Red Sea with the despatches of H. M. Representative and Mails for all parts of India, Europe and America.—

By the 1st of June the number of Foreigners remaining in Canton was less than 30, and soon after reduced still lower.—

On the 9th of June the Commissioner and the Vice Roy issued another joint Edict enjoining upon those controlling British ships to enter port ;—the financial shoe beginning to pinch, notwithstanding the professed disregard of Foreign Commerce a month before :

They, therefore, strove insidiously to counteract the warnings of Sir Charles Elliot, saying "as to what Elliot says, that the ships must wait till they "can get a reply from the Sovereign of their Country, this is "clearly an evasive excuse—he ought, from first to last, to "secure and protect the foreign merchant and think how he "may enjoy his blithesome profits; let him not set about "producing thorns and briars, which will choke up business "and prick himself."—

The last British vessel, the "Ann Jane", of those previously within the port, left the river on the 16th of June. About the same time another and still more insidious joint Edict of the Commissioner and the Vice Roy was addressed to the British Merchants and ship Masters at Macao urging them to disregard the injunctions of Sir Charles and come into port, which was translated and printed for circulation at Macao and on board the shipping: Whereupon, Sir Charles issued the following Notice, dated Macao June 21st, which is so important as an exposition of the principles upon which he had acted and as a recital of what had been done by the Commissioner also, that I shall reproduce it printed, though too lengthy to read.

*Public Notice to Her Majesty's Subjects:*

"The Officer deputed by the Commissioner and the Keunmin-foo, having caused certain notices to be publicly placarded at Macao, inciting British Merchants, Commanders and seamen to disregard the lawful injunctions of the undersigned, he has this day transmitted to those Authorities the

accompanying declaration. A Copy of the same will be submitted to the Commissioner.”—

Macao, June 21st, 1839.

(signed) CHARLES ELLIOT  
Chief Superintendent, &c.

“Elliot, &c. &c. learns that official notices have been publicly placarded, and sent to the ships of his Nation, inciting the English Merchants, Commanders and seamen to disregard his lawful injunctions issued in the name of his most gracious Sovereign. But wherefore are these notices silent upon the causes which have produced the conclusion of trade and intercourse at Canton? The high Commissioner has published his own communications to Elliot, but where are the replies? These proceedings are highly inconsistent with the principles of peace and dignity: And Elliot must now declare the motives which have compelled him to require the merchants of his Nation to leave Canton, and the Ships no longer to return within the Bocca Tigris.”—

“On the 24th of March last, Elliot repaired to Canton and immediately proposed to put an end to the state of difficulty and anxiety then existent, by the faithful fulfilment of the Emperor’s will: And he respectfully asked that he and the rest of the foreign Community might be set at liberty, in order that he might calmly consider and suggest adequate remedies for the evils so justly denounced by His Imperial Majesty. He was answered by a close imprisonment of more than seven weeks, with armed men day and night before his gates, under threats of privation of food, water and life.—Was this becoming treatment to the Officer of a friendly nation, recognized by the Emperor, and who had always performed his duty peacefully and irreproachably, striving in all things to afford satisfaction to the provincial Government? When it thus became plain that the Commissioner was resolved to cast away all moderation, Elliot knew that it was incumbent upon him to save the Imperial dignity, and prevent some shocking catastrophe on the persons of an imprisoned foreign Officer and two hundred defenseless Merchants. For these reasons of prevailing force he demanded from the people of his nation all the English Opium in their hands, in the name of his Sovereign, and delivered it over to



the Commissioner, amounting to 20.288 chests. That matter remains to be settled between the two Courts.”—

“But how will it be possible to answer the Emperor for this violation of his gracious will; that these difficult affairs should be managed with thoughtful wisdom; and with tenderness to the men from afar? What will be the feelings of the most just Prince of his illustrious dynasty, when it is made manifest to him by the command of Her Britannic Majesty, that the traffic in Opium has been chiefly encouraged and protected by the highest Officers in the Empire, and that no portion of the foreign trade to China has paid its fees to the Officers with so much regularity as this of Opium? Terrible indeed will be His Imperial Majesty’s indignation when he learns that the obligations into which the high Commissioner entered, under his seal, to the Officers of a foreign Nation were all violated! The servants were not faithfully restored when one fourth of the opium was delivered; the boats were not permitted to run when one half was delivered; the trade was not really opened when three fourths were delivered, and the last pledge, that things should go on as usual when the whole was delivered, has been falsified by the reduction of the factories to a prison with one outlet, the expulsion of sixteen persons, some of them who never dealt in opium at all, some clerks, one a lad, and the proposal of novel and intolerable regulations.—

“Can a great moral and political reformation be effected at the sacrifice of all the principles of truth, moderation and justice? Or is it believed that these spoliatory proceedings will extinguish the traffic in opium? Such hopes are futile, and the Emperor has been deceived.—But it is asked, on the other hand, whether the wise and just purposes of the Emperor cannot and should not be fulfilled? Most assuredly they can, and they ought. It is certain, however, that the late measures of the Commissioner have retarded this accomplishment of the Imperial pleasure, given an immense impulse to the traffic in Opium, which was stagnant for several months before he arrived,—and shaken the prosperity of these flourishing provinces. It is probable that they will disturb the whole coasts of the Empire, ruin thousands of families, foreign and native, and interrupt the peace

between the Celestial Court and England, which has endured for nearly two hundred years.”—

“The Merchants and ships of the English Nation do not proceed to Canton and Whampoa, because the gracious commands of the Emperor for their protection are set at nought ; because the truth is concealed from His Imperial Majesty’s knowledge ; because there is no safety for a handful of defenseless men in the grasp of the Government at Canton ; because it would be derogatory from the dignity of their Sovereign and Nation to forget all the insults and wrongs which have been perpetrated, till full justice be done, and till the whole trade and intercourse be placed upon a footing honorable and secure to this Empire, and to England. The time is at hand ; the gracious Sovereign of the English Nation will cause the truth to be made known to the wise and august prince on the throne of this Empire, and all things will be adjusted agreeably to the principles of the purest reason.”—

“Elliot and the men of his Nation in China submit the expressions of their deepest veneration for the great Emperor.—

(signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.  
Chief Superintendent. &c.

Meantime, on the 15th, Mr Charles W. King embarked from Macao in his Firm's ship, the "Morrison," taking Mrs. King with him and inviting the Revd. Dr. Bridgman to accompany them, for the scene of the destruction of the Opium near the Bogue,—where anchoring he was, the day after, invited by the Imperial Commissioner to land and pay him a visit. After observing the mode of destroying the Opium and holding a lengthy discussion, Dr. Bridgman was asked by the Commissioner if he would take charge of a letter for Her Majesty the Queen of England:—which he declined.—The bearing of the Commissioner made a very favorable impression upon both Dr. Bridgman and Mr King: They said that, "throughout, he was bland and vivacious, and exhibited nothing that was barbarous or savage. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care and thoughtfulness. Once only he smiled—almost laughed—as Mr King declined to characterize the members of the Co-Hong:—The question being who of them are good? Which was not answered. The accounts given him of British Naval power—especially of Steam vessels—raised a frown upon his brow."—He was a man of literary pretensions as well as a great Magistrate and statesman, and one of his Works was "An illustrated notice of Countries beyond the Sea."—

On the 23rd of June the Authorities ordered the Hong Merchants to become security for the two American ships recently arrived; the Bond exacted being a modified form of that which all Foreigners had refused to sanction before.—

On the 15th of July Sir Charles, replying to a Committee of the British Firms at Macao, gave his views as to the questions of demurrage, &c. &c. arising in the outside anchorages.—

Previously, the principal British Firms had held public Meetings whereat resolutions were passed deprecating any attempt of British Subjects to thwart the purposes of the Superintendent, by proceeding in person or with their ships into the Port of Canton.—

In the absence of vessels of War, it was impossible to forcibly restrain all persons; but such was the general unanimity that but two vessels got into port: One Gentleman attempting to come to Canton was seized by the Chinese and held for a while; another came up on a visit of observation in an American ship,—being a new arrival at Macao,—by ingeniously changing his real name of Silverlock to Whitehead.—

By the 15th of July the Foreign

Community here was reduced to a few Americans, of which I was one, and two or three persons of other nationalities.—Several Americans left China during the previous six weeks, my Cousin, Mr Hathaway, among them ; and henceforward I was to feel the loss of the society and counsel of one of the most estimable of men, whilst assuming sole charge of the business of my Kinsmen,—soon to be enlarged by that of several of the leading British Houses.—

As our Factory—No. 4 Lung Shun Hong—needed repairs, I then went to the Owner of the whole Hong, the celebrated Chief of the Co-Hong, Howqua, to apply for Factory No. 2, then vacant ; as most other Factories were.—His first salutation was the characteristic gesture of holding out his left hand with Snuff upon it,—(Snuff so potent that the recollection of it almost compels me to sneeze now—34 years after),—and after thus titillating my nose, he asked me—‘what news?’—I then asked him for No. 2, to which he replied with a peremptory—“No can—Elliot liky that house”: “But,” said I, not suspecting his purpose to offer me a still more eligible one, “you no thinky Elliot come Canton this year?”—to which he replied with great animation and evident confidence—“yes he come

back few moon and must wantye No. 2.”—adding the question—“you no liky N. 1?”—I said with as much alacrity “yes, I liky No. 1, but my so young man no thinky use so large house”—“Ah maskee you young man, my liky you go No. 1.”—And thus it was that No. 1 Lung Shun Hong became my Canton home for 17 years,—down to its destruction in December 1856 by the orders of the second “queller of the barbarian spirit,” the redoubtable Yeh.—

Howqua was a remarkable man; and as Chief of the Co-Hong in the gainful days of monopoly, may be said to have been the “right man in the right place.” Few men could have held that position through the long period that he did, without fatally involving themselves and families,—a period of transition during which there were repeated political collisions with Foreigners even before the Opium question arose, through all which he had to bear the brunt, and exhibited consummate tact.—

He was a firm friend to those whom he fancied ; and on one occasion, at least, shewed a princely generosity, when an American Merchant who had lost his property in trade here,—being unable to repay him,—Howqua returned him the Promissory

Notes he held for nearly One hundred thousand Dollars, as a free gift.—

And I have another interesting anecdote of him to relate that you will like, I think, as a most pointed illustration of the remarkable difference in the appreciation of sound between the ears of the Chinese and our own,—a difference so marked that it suggests if it does not justify the assertion, that their's are attuned to discord and ours to harmony. What is true is, that their ears seem set to the *falsetto* in *alto*; and hence that what is a Gong of dissonance in our ears delights theirs as though it were the welcome sound of friendly greeting on arrivals and departures, whether ashore or afloat.— But to come to the point of my anecdote of Howqua : On one occasion when, as was the custom of those days, he had accompanied one of the Mandarins to Whampoa to pay a complimentary visit to an American Commodore,—the party being at dinner and the Band began the usual adjustment of their instruments to the Music, it was observed that as these preliminary sounds were drawn from the Violins *long drawn out*, Howqua and the Mandarins were in ecstasies ; but when the full Band struck up in “Hail Columbia,” the “Star spangled Banner” and the like airs, the celestial guests

were simply quiescent or acquiescent. — Whereupon the Commodore asked Howqua which of the airs had pleased them most? From his reply it was thought that one of those mentioned was alluded to, and that was accordingly repeated ; but Howqua said that was not the one and the Commodore inferred from his attempt to indicate it by a more rapid motion, that the Yankee Doodle Quick step was the favorite : That evidently suited the Chinese better ; but after its conclusion Howqua be-thought him how to get again what they really preferred and so said : "*My Chin Chin you that first teen,*"—meaning the sounds first emitted by the instruments in the process of tuning !—

I have at this point to make a statement which it is quite time should form a part of the history of the period, since otherwise, the occasional slur flung out by ill-informed writers, founded upon the assumption that we Americans were simply self-seeking in remaining at Canton,—heedless that our so doing was prejudicial to British interests,—may be taken as expressing the views of the leading British Merchants : Whereas, as I am in a position to state, it was felt that the tenure of Foreign relations as a whole had become so precarious, that it was the part of wisdom



for the few Americans to remain at Canton, to maintain a hold upon the Trade and thus conserve the vast commercial interests of England, then at stake : Such was the well-known wish of the principal British Merchants at an early period ; and the fact soon become an *open* secret by their employment of Americans as Agents at Canton. And it was very soon seen that it suited all parties in interest,—except the Imperial Commissioner,—who issued an Edict denouncing five of us for dealing with, aiding and abetting the English Barbarians ; —and threatening such extreme penalties that I had, thereafter, to buy the Imports from my English friends and charter the American ships for Manila and back to Whampoa, —instead of running them, as before, from the British anchorages at Castle-Peak or Hong-kong Bay direct to Whampoa,—getting fresh Invoices and Bills of Lading of the Goods as American property from Messrs Russell and Sturgis, Manila.—

Thus the British Merchants found a profitable sale for the cargoes of Imports accumulated at the outside anchorages and incurring heavy demurrage and other charges ; and got Tea and other Chinese produce, which then brought high prices in England and Australia :—The Hong and Tea

Merchants resumed their large business : The Chinese Officials got the Duties on Imports and Exports : And the British Government got its revenue from Tea Duties : Whilst we Canton Agents were making rapid fortunes from the Commissions. All parties but the pertinacious political High Commissioner were well pleased and, by degrees, combined to neutralize his previously dreaded power.—

But there were few if any among the Chinese who did not confide in the Emperor's puissance ; and I remember that Lin Chong, one of the Hong Merchants, who had all his life been intimate with Foreigners and was always ranked by us as one of the most intelligent and sagacious of his Countrymen, so late as the Autumn of 1839,—in a conversation with Mr. Delano and myself,—maintained that the British forces could not capture the—then recently strengthened—Bogue Forts ; and said that the Emperor had an immense reserved force of Tartar horsemen, which could speedily gallop to Canton and overwhelm any Foreign force.

Being disappointed in his attempts to entice the British ships and Merchants into port, the Commissioner undertook hostile measures against them, compelling all to leave Macao, and afterward attacking the

ships in Castle Peak and Hongkong bays; the Portuguese being unable to afford protection.

About the 30th of August, H. M. ships "Volage" and "Hyacinth" arrived, and in October Sir Charles Elliot went with them to the Bogue to demand the discontinuance of hostile measures against the shipping and unmolested residence at Macao for British subjects, pending an arrangement of difficulties between the two Governments; but finding a large fleet of War Junks in Anson's bay moving down menacingly to attack, an engagement ensued and out of the 16 Junks, three were sunk, one was blown up, and the the rest scattered.—

This was the first naval battle\*; and I remember the ominous sound of that cannonade, though 45 miles distant, which might be the knell of myself and the other abettors of the English: But in some way or other our friends the Hong Merchants, took care to shield us as the keepers of the Goose laying the Golden Eggs.—

The Commissioner, indeed, began to shew misgivings as to the relative power of the two Nations on the waters outside

\* Although there had previously been hostile collisions in Hongkong and Cap Sing Moon Bays, in one of which Sir Charles Elliot's hat was perforated by a Gingall ball.

the Bogue, and relaxed the stringency of his measures at Macao, whilst using his resources to fortify the Bogue and other approaches to Canton :—Meantime, however, declaring the British Trade closed forever.—

So closely watched were the shipping at the outside anchorages during most of the season of 1839, that to induce Chinese to bring me letters when any important matter required prompt communication, Messrs Dent & Co. sometimes paid \$ 120. to get a brief letter to me, which would be hidden in the bamboo of the boatman ; and I was repeatedly called out of bed at one to three o'clock of a morning in order to read a letter and then send an answer by the same man : His head being very insecure upon his shoulders.—

Whatever the perils were to ourselves or the natives we thus employed, such was the volume of business that we were favored with, that we had little time for thought of them and too little for sleep.—

Thus the months from June 1839 to April 1840 sped by ; marked by a few dinner parties during the holydays and a farewell one that I gave my friend Mr A. A. Low, who retired from the House of Messrs Russell & Co. at the end of 1839 and left for home.

The other two notable changes of the opening of the new year in Firms being, on the one hand, the reduction of the number by one, by the merging of the interests of Messrs Russell, Sturgis & Co. with Messrs Russell & Co,—Mr. Delano of the former House entering the latter as a partner; which suggested the remark that their act was emphatically to coalesce, since thus there was one “Co:” the less :—The second change was, on the other hand, an addition, being the establishment by Mr Joseph Coolidge, (late a partner of Messrs Russell & Co,) of the Firm of Messrs Augustine Heard & Co, which has since attained to a proud position among the great Houses of the World. Mr Coolidge was an accomplished Gentleman, who on his youthful continental tour, as the son of a distinguished Citizen of Boston, had made the acquaintance of Lord Byron in Italy; and who, on returning to America, married Miss Randolph, a Grand Daughter of President Jefferson, who came to Macao with her Husband: And who, in virtue of their social position, had been presented to Queen Victoria by the American Minister and his Lady.—

Mr. Coolidge was gifted with remarkable conversational powers; and I remember his once holding a party, which in-

cluded the only Lady at Canton at the time, enthralled by his description of the then newly-risen star of the Ballet, Taglioni, as eclipsing all ever seen before ;—an Enchantress whose spells, wrought by the very poetry of motion, appealed to all in the sense of Shakspeare's strangely-apt words :—

“Start not ; her actions shall be holy ;

You hear, my *spell* is lawful.”—

And held the most refined assemblies of London, with the Queen at their head, captive to her refined natural grace and real genius.—

In April the clipper “Ariel” got back from the Red Sea, with the announcement that the British Government had determined to demand redress :—She having left Macao on the 29th May 1839. a period of nearly eleven months had been required to deliver to Sir Charles Elliot the reply of H. M. Government.—This strikingly exhibits the difference between the two periods in respect to intercommunication ; but I may instance other occasions which mark it more distinctly as what was general rather than exceptional in that Era of Sails :— Thus, I remember that on the 29th of January 1838 the “Orixa” arrived from Liverpool with advices of the 6th September 1837, after the great financial crisis of 1837 had passed, being 145 days ; and bringing the latest and very important

news favoring Tea shipments,—which soon advanced prices for the leaf 30 to 50 per cent and freights from £ 4. to £ 8.—On another occasion the period was longer, the latest dates from England and America having come by a ship from Bombay that was 109 days thence.—And, strange as it will now appear when in 1841 the Trade of Canton was forced open, the first advices of the reöpening of it reached London viâ New York,—the Ship “Akbar” having arrived at the latter port in 110 days passage from Canton.—

From the receipt of the welcome tidings in April, that England had determined to exact redress and thus end in one form or another the painful incertitude of our position, we were thenceforward constantly on the very *‘tiptoe of expectancy’* and hope; assured that to a favorable solution of the intricate question with China, all the resources of Britain would be devoted.

Impressed by the momentous character of the issue and mindful of the interest it was exciting in America, as well as Europe, I wrote a letter to the Editor of the “New York Express” on the 5th of June, of which, as somewhat animated with the spirit of the hour and foreshadowing subsequent events, and especially as pointing to Peking

as the Goal of successful diplomacy, I venture to quote the salient portions.—

“To the Editor of the *New York Express*.

“Canton, June 5th 1840.—

“It is no longer a question if England purposes  
“the exercise of power upon this Empire, for the sounds of  
“preparation are wafted to us by every breeze from the Bay  
“of Bengal.”—

“Whilst nothing is allowed to transpire in  
“England as to the intention of Government, orders have  
“been received at the seat of Government in India to equip  
“a powerful Land and Sea armament, which is being done  
“with great activity.—All doubt as to the Force being an  
“efficient one is at an end ;—it is to be sufficient to power-  
“fully coerce the Empire.”

“And the object of England being the reesta-  
“blishment of the legal Trade, upon a definite and sure basis,  
“the question arises how far she can use coercion without  
“sacrificing her permanent interests, or involving herself in  
“a struggle of long continuance, or in a War of conquest.”

“Without a knowledge of the nature of the  
“demands to be made of the Emperor, it is very difficult  
“for those on the spot, even, to predict the reception of the  
“Ambassadors,—who come as never before Ambassadors  
“approached the Throne of the “Son of Heaven”—command-  
“ing a powerful Force.”—

“It is still doubtful whether the Earl of Auckland,  
“Governor General of India, will be relieved of that Office  
“and come on in person ; but the general belief seems to be  
“that he will delegate the full power held by him to the  
“Admiral of the Fleet and the General of the Army ;—the  
“latter of whom is said to be Lieutenant General the Ho-  
“norable Sir Robert Arbuthnot, Commander-in-chief at Ceylon.  
“The appointment of this Officer to the command of the land  
“forces is one of the indications, among the many, which Go-  
“vernment, with the greatest secrecy possible, cannot prevent  
“the publicity of, of the intention to send a Force that it will  
“be dangerous for the Emperor to trifle with.—



“And when we reflect upon the transfer of  
 “the Foreign Relations from the hands of Merchants, in  
 “which they have been for centuries, to those of Soldiers  
 “and Sailors, whose profession is that of arms—and who  
 “reckon Treasure as nothing in comparison with National  
 “honour, dignity and glory ; and remember, too, the haughty  
 “character of this people, their deeprooted prejudices and  
 “erroneous ideas of their own greatness and strength—  
 “fostered as they have been for centuries by the submission  
 “of Merchants interested directly in the continuance of the  
 “Trade, joined with the many circumstances affecting the  
 “question with England;—when I reflect upon all these points,  
 “I cannot but believe that blood must and will flow ere the  
 “Emperor will *listen* merely. Suppose an apology for the  
 “insult done England in the Person of her Representative  
 “and subjects is demanded at Peking, as sure it will be,—  
 “*where only it can be demanded successfully or properly*,—why,  
 “the assumption of superiority and universal Empire by China  
 “for so many centuries must be relinquished—must fall at  
 “the feet of the invaders and in its fall the integrity of the  
 “Empire receive a shock that shall reach from beyond the  
 “Great Wall to the Southern Sea, and from Formosa to the  
 “confines of British India,—undermining the Throne itself !

“But suppose the demands should be what  
 “rumour says they will be:—For the full value of the Opium  
 “confiscated ; the Hong debts ; the Expenses of this Expedit-  
 “ion ;—say Twenty Millions of Dollars !!—beside full repar-  
 “ation for injured honour :—What would not China dare do  
 “before she submits to such degradation—such disgrace in  
 “the eyes of her own people ?—Why,—she could only fight  
 “till she finds fighting fraught with greater peril than abject  
 “submission, when she would use gold—a *Weapon* that she  
 “has often found more potent than her sword.”—

“But the necessity must be very pressing to  
 “extract such an immense sum of Treasure from this country ;  
 “—not that it is poor,—it is very rich, but that such a degree  
 “of submission would be too heavy a disgrace before its own  
 “subjects,—moreover, it would be obtained by forced con-  
 “tributions from those subjects themselves, for the Govern-  
 “ment itself is poor ; and I believe that a considerable period  
 “of time will be required to inflict it.”—

“But *what* England *will* demand we know not ;  
 “nor what tone she will assume in other respects :—Whether  
 “she will be ready to propose a compromise touching the  
 “Opium question. It must be confessed, however, that the  
 “vesting of the power for the settlement of the question in  
 “Lord Auckland—Governor General of those Colonies where  
 “the drug is now daily sold by Government for the China  
 “Market, afford grounds for the general belief that the *demands*  
 “will embrace all that I have named ; but the manner of  
 “liquidating the pecuniary claims may be compromised by  
 “the grant of Commercial privileges and full security for the  
 “future,—provided the apology for the insult offered England  
 “is full and satisfactory.”—

“On the other hand, England does not come  
 “in her might to *sacrifice* her Revenue of £ 4,000,000 stg,  
 “Four Millions of Pounds sterling, Duties on Tea per annum,  
 “but, if possible, to make its receipt more certain and to  
 “augment it :—But, again; on the other, England is at this  
 “moment occupying a more elevated position than ever before  
 “in Western India,—and Persia is at her feet.—Victoria would  
 “be an Elizabeth too !—Lord Auckland is just made an Earl—  
 “and is flushed with success in Western India and Persia.—

“Mark ! England lulls suspicion in Europe by  
 “sending out but half a dozen Frigates,—while in India she  
 “makes great preparations !—What is the meaning?—A new  
 “settlement it is said is to be founded :—Where ! *On the*  
 “*mainland of China* ?—

“Indeed, this struggle between the “oldest  
 “Nation of the Earth” and the most powerful Naval Power  
 “in the World, is fraught with consequences of the most  
 “momentous nature ;—such as but few in the World properly  
 “comprehend and appreciate.”—

“Heaven grant that in its results it be be-  
 “neficial, as it may, to both—to the whole world.”—

I am, Sir,—Your obedient Servant.

(signed) “An American.”

There were two miscon-  
 ceptions in this letter : One that the force  
 intended was to be much more powerful ; the

other than the preparations, being chiefly in India, were kept private in Europe and America; whereas the British Government, in the sense that the movements of England concerned the other Western Nations, had communicated its purpose of redress to the American Government; and disclaiming more than such redress and security for the future, had restricted its force so far within a requisite one for conquest, that it was quite inadequate to the real requirements of the occasion. Thus England shewed her reluctance to relinquish the policy of conciliation; and instead of destroying the Bogue Forts as Sir Charles Elliot expected,—as a suitable blow of redress for the local insult of imprisonment,—her forces proceeded to seize Chusan, avowedly only as a temporary port for concentration and safety, pending representations to the Emperor.—

The long waited-for day, whose dawn was to usher in redress, if not retribution, at length arrived; and on the 22nd of June 1840, more than 15 months after our imprisonment, the British Fleet of more than 20 vessels led by the “Wellesley” 74, with Admiral Elliot’s Flag flying, sailed into the outer roads of Macao,—“*like a tall Admiral towering in his pride*”; a goodly sight to see, as a friend then there pictured it to me.—

Immediately after, Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer declared a Blockade of Canton river, to take effect in July ; and soon after a second fleet came into Macao.—

Admiral Elliot and Sir Charles, his Nephew, were appointed joint-Plenipotentiaries, and before proceeding North, Sir Charles issued a Manifesto to the Chinese people, setting forth the grievances of the English ; and stating that no harm would be done those who pursued their peaceful occupations, as the difficulty was wholly between the two Governments and the Queen of England had sent high Officers to make the *truth* known to the Emperor. The movements to Chusan and the Peiho I have already alluded to.—

So tardy was the concentration of the forces in those days of sails—(there being but three steamers of small power in the whole fleet)—that a conference could not be obtained at or near Tientsin until the 31st of August. The promises of the Imperial Commissioner were unexceptionable ; but had they not been so, the season was too late to move forces into the Gulf of Pechellee,—if indeed H. M. Government ever intended so moderate a force to attempt a movement of the kind.

Upon informing the Commissioner of the declaration of Blockade and

representing the consequent necessity to allow all American ships, arriving before the date indicated, to sail directly into the River without waiting for Permits to each, he replied that it was an egregious mistake or audacious falsehood that the English intended to institute a Blockade.

It was not until a month after the Blockade was laid on the river that, in August, I went to Macao in a Chop Boat by the inner passage, passing through Shuntuck and Hearn Shan Districts ; taking with me two lacks, or lacs of two kinds, as fruits of a labor of more than 16 months since the imprisonment began,—one a *lac* of Dollars, the other a *lack* of health,—from sheer exhaustion:—But the latter was assuaged by the written testimonials that my English friends generously added to my pecuniary fortune.

Lin offered large rewards for the capture of British ships and people ; and succeeding, thus, in getting the Revd. Vincent Stanton into his hands, (who was seized when bathing at Carcillas bay just beyond the walls of Macao and quite within the Barrier,) and was near making a Martyr of him ;—he, the celestially-enlightened High Commissioner, having thought at one time of immolating Mr Stanton as a sacrifice to the God

of War! Later on, we heard of the Emperor's gathering alarm and consequent dissatisfaction with Lin, an Edict having come from the Throne ordering him to return "with the speed of flames" to Peking ;—adding

"you have not only proved yourself unable to cut off their trade, but you have also proved yourself unable to seize perverse Natives. You have but dissembled with empty words, and so far from having been any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting—it appears then you are no better than a wooden image :—I am filled with anger and melancholy."—

After the capture of Mr. Stanton, Captain, afterward Sir Harry Smith of H. M. S. "Volage" came to the house that I occupied with Mr Bull, accompanied by the celebrated and then venerable Thomas Beale, former head of the House of Messrs Beale & Magniac, the predecessors of Messrs Jardine Matheson & Co. (and Father of the late Mr. Thos. Chay Beale of Shanghae), to introduce him, with a request to be permitted to reconnoitre the Chinese position at the Barrier, where Lin's forces were fortifying themselves preparatory to again driving the English away from Macao. There were two rooms surmounting the roof of our house, reached by a flight of winding stairs, from whence a very comprehensive view was had ; and I remember that as we conducted the gallant Officer, who

had a slight impediment in his speech, up the stairs, he exclaimed—"Why! you have here perfect *coo-r-k screw* stairs."—The next day the "Volage" and "Hyacinth," with one only Steamer he had were sent as near the beach of the Barrier as they could lie to bombard the sand batteries of the Chinese;—landed a small force of Marines, driving the native forces away toward *Caza branca*; the Junks by which they came from Canton mostly escaping up the inner harbour, where the "Hyacinth" was sent to chase them.—

Acting strictly in terms of the Manifesto to the people, the only coercive measure taken locally, pending the appeal to the Emperor, was the Blockade of Canton river; the movement at Macao being strictly within the limits of self-defence.—

It was Sir Charles Elliot's opinion, as I have intimated, that the Bogue Forts should be blown up as a proper local blow of redress, whose echoes would reach the Emperor's ears; it being obvious that the fact of a Blockade, if at all, would only reach Peking stripped of its significance: But the British Government were still bent upon pursuing a course of moderation,—whether from a well-considered line of policy or not,—I can only conjecture. In that light, its sending

an inadequate force is comprehensible ; but otherwise, the withholding of a wholesome local blow of redress was a real lapse in statesmanship, as was the inability to reach Peking a still more glaring one.—

Whatever the reasons for this course of action, may have been, the result was that the Plenipotentiaries returned from the North the last of November, leaving the most of the Fleet and Troops at Chusan to await the promised investigation and redress by Ke Shen, whom the Emperor deputed to Canton for the purpose.—

Upon sending a steamer to the Bogue with a letter from Ilipu to Keshen, she was fired upon by the forts ; but Keshen promptly apologised. Soon after this, Admiral Elliot returned to England, leaving Sir Charles sole Plenipotentiary ; and he proceeded with negotiations in December at the Bogue : But returned to Macao before the 1st of January 1841, on which day I remember meeting him in Mrs Coolidge's drawing room just as he came in to pay her "the Compliments of the Season" as he expressed himself.—Immediately after, he returned to the Bogue and on Keshen's refusing the terms he had submitted to him in December, Sir Gordon Bremer moved some of the forces to the attack



of the forts on the 7th of January and captured those of Chunepee and Tae-Kok-Tow:—When Keshen proposed an armistice ; and resuming negotiations, reported to the Emperor the inadequacy of the defensive preparations. On the 20th, Sir Charles issued a Notice to the effect that Hongkong was ceded (he having first demanded Chunepee by right of capture); —\$ 6.000.000. were to be paid as indemnity in six annual instalments; direct Official intercourse on a footing of equality ; and the English Trade to be resumed at Canton on the 1st of February.—These were the best terms to be had at that day.—Meantime Lin and his friends had memorialized the Emperor against peaceful measures ; and it soon became apparent that the stipulations of the Treaty would not be observed : And it was afterward known that the Emperor had issued orders on the 27th of January to resume the War.

Here, then, we found ourselves in a state of War by the clearly expressed will of the Emperor ; all Foreigners being practically involved, as we Neutrals soon learnt to our cost, though none but British subjects were active participants in it.

*War makes all the relations of life incisive ; —it sharpens wits, tongues and eyes, as well as swords.—*

And though it may be thought that War with the Chinese was then War 'with a difference'; yet if we admit that sanguinary warfare—*guerra al cuchillo*, War to the knife,—that implies great heat of blood,—is repugnant to their civilization, as it is to ours, we must at the same time aver, that there is a countervailing coldness of heart, spiced with a relentless cruelty and superstition that wreaks a slower vengeance upon their prisoners or immolates them as a propitiation to their Gods.—And War by the will of the sacred Emperor against the "outer Barbarians" aroused a zeal among gentry and people generally, more dangerous at that day than the hireling spirit of the professional soldier.

That the Emperor was then in dread earnest his Edict disgracing Keshen and confiscating his large Estate left no doubt,—as these brief extracts shew: His Majesty said:—

"I am aroused to the deepest and most wrathful indignation. "——— We know not what kind of nerve he must really "possess to be thus easily alarmed. Thus our favors he "renders nugatory and betrays his Country, having lost every "spark of the principle implanted in him by Heaven!—Let "him be, therefore, disgraced from Office and put in irons; "and we appoint Officers to escort him to the Capital, that "rigorous investigation may be instituted: And let all his "property be immediately seized and confiscated,"—

Keshen had been convinced by the diplomacy of Sir Charles Elliot and the

results of the attacks upon the outer defences of the Bogue, that a contest with England was hazardous for the Imperial prestige, if not hopeless; but the unchastened spirit of the Canton people,—inflated, as its hereditary conceit of supremacy had been, by the appeals and acts of Lin,—responded to, nay, anticipated the call of the Emperor;—thus confirming the opinion of Sir Charles Elliot that a local blow of redress should have been struck on the first arrival of the forces, by the destruction of the Bogue forts.—This admirable national spirit in the Canton people has always shewn great elasticity,—an elastic tenacity;—and in contradistinction to the more passive nature of the people of the Northern Provinces, formed the nucleus of patriotism through all succeeding periods, down to the serious chastening of the capture and occupation of the City by the Allied forces of England and France in the time of Commissioner Yeh :—And undoubtedly still forms the invigorating element of independence that is the surest promise of national advancement.—

The Emperor's mandate ordering the concentration of Troops upon Canton under four Generalissimoes, one being his own Nephew, was of the most rigorous tenor,—disclosing an uncompromising spirit;—and

denouncing the English as rebellious against Heaven. Rewards of Fifty thousand Dollars for each the heads of Elliot, Bremer, Morrison, and other Chiefs, and lesser sums for their subordinates, were offered in placards all over the Country ; and every device to make the river inaccessible was used : But by the 26th of February all the Bogue forts, 8 in number, had been captured,—Admiral Kwan, the first Chinese Hero who came to the front, after his fleet was destroyed, landing to fight on shore and falling in that of Anunghoy ; a day or two after a strong position at the First bar, defended by several thousand men was captured, some of the Tartar and other Northern Soldiers shewing great bravery along with extraordinary evolutions, including somersaults in the air, when the British Marines and Soldiers shot them as it were “on the wing.”—

Early in March the forces were within four or five miles of Canton ; and a Flag of truce was sent to Sir Charles Elliot : But it was not until he had astounded the Chinese by his vengeful daring, in forcing his way in the “Nemesis” by the inner passage from Macao to Canton, and the other vessels of War also moved upon the City from the other branch of the river,—the British Troops reaching the Factories,—that he was enabled

to announce a local suspension of hostilities and a reopening of the trade,—as follows:—

“A suspension of hostilities at Canton in this province has been this day agreed upon between the Imperial Commissioner Yang and the undersigned.”

“It has further been publicly proclaimed to the people under the seals of the Commissioner and of the acting Governor of the Province, that the trade of the port of Canton is open, and that British and other foreign Merchants who may see fit to proceed there for the purpose of lawful commerce shall be duly protected.”—

“No bond will be required by the provincial Governor, but there will be no objection on the part of the British Authorities to the like liabilities for the introduction of prohibited merchandise, or for smuggling (duly proved), which would follow such offences in England, detention of person or penal consequences of all kinds excepted. Pending the final settlement of affairs between the two Countries, the undersigned has consented to the payment of the usual charges and other established duties. Ships of war will remain in the near neighborhood of the factories, for the better protection of H. M.’s subjects engaged in the trade of Canton.

(signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.”—

“Notice is hereby given that British and foreign Merchant vessels have permission to proceed to Whampoa, all consequences arising from the possible and sudden resumption of hostilities of course remaining at the risk of the parties.—

“Given on board the “Wellesley” off Wangtung 21st March 1841.—

(signed) J. J. GORDON BREMER.

“Commodore 1st Class and Commander-in-chief.”—

We Merchants then make the most of the precarious footing we had again gotten here, unloading and loading our ships as quickly as possible;—and none too diligently, as the result proved: For by the

middle of May it became evident that the Chinese Authorities purposed treachery ; and it soon appeared that they had the spontaneous loyalty of the whole people to aid, if not incite them : The actual peril to every Foreigner was quietly whispered around the community, so that the attack should not be precipitated ; and the extensive secret preparations were watched as they hourly assumed more threatening proportions. Many fire boats and rafts were being prepared up river ; masked batteries erected along the river front on both the Canton and Honam sides ; heavy Guns planted in the streets ; and the Temples filled with troops : Observing that Foreigners were beginning to leave, the Mandarins placarded proclamations on the 20th, declaring that no one need be alarmed and commanding all Chinese to attend each to his own business. But neither Foreigners or Natives were deceived by the perfidious document ; and on the next day Sir Charles Elliot issued a Notice to all Foreigners warning them to go on board their shipping :

The warning had been too late, but that the danger had been generally felt a week or more before,—for that very night the attack came by both land and water.

Having sent my Brother Thomas to Macao in advance, with my most

movable valuables, I wrote, on the evening of the 20th, to the Captain of my own ship "Hygeia", lying at Whampoa, requesting him to send the Chief-Officer in the ship's boat well-manned, the next morning,—sending my letter by a chop boat with Tea; and I was attending to the shipment of Teas to her and the "Narragansett", during the whole of the 21st, while hourly expecting the arrival of the Chief Officer in the boat, as requested. At length at about sunset, just after I had given a Linguist particulars of several chops of Tea for shipment,—standing at the door of my Factory in the summer dress of that day—thin white linen jacket and trousers,—I was accosted by Mr William A. Lawrence of New York, as he was passing in great haste out of the Hong :—

"Why ! Nye are you still here !—I thought you had left ; you  
"are the last man in the place,—come, come with me ;—the last  
"boat is starting from Jardine's, there's not a moment to lose,  
"they are merely waiting for me to return ;—it is your only  
"chance—come."—

It was evident that there was no time for parley, so I left my door steps as I stood, scarcely realizing until that moment that, not only all foreigners, but all our native servants had disappeared from the Hong.—Hurrying to the Bombay ship's barge, in which were Mr Andrew Jardine and several other

Gentlemen, I found her down to the water's edge with passengers and crew : but was welcomed by Mr Jardine and off we started ;—myself keeping an anxious watch to intercept the “Hygeia's” boat *en route*. I shall never forget the tedious pull of many hours by the lascar crew, whose usual monotonous song was hushed to prevent calling the attention of the Chinese to the boat ; and the reaction from the heat and excitement of the day was so great that with nothing but thin linen on, I was shaking with chills until one of the Gentlemen lent me a heavy woollen overcoat. It was, I think, eleven at night before we got to the shipping and we had not slept more than two or three hours before we heard the roar of cannon at Canton and then felt how narrow our escape had been ; and at daylight we saw that the City was on fire in five places ; the British ships then bombarding it in retaliation for the treacherous night attack : And we all thought the knell of Canton was then sounding in our ears. Not meeting the “Hygeia's” boat, I concluded that my request to send one had not reached or had arrived so late on the 21st that it had been read as meaning the next morning, and I hurried to that ship, just in time to save the mate and crew from pulling into the very jaws of the Dragon, as they did not know of the imminence of danger, though they had



heard the cannonade,—and, in fact, felt bound to obey my orders.

That you may realize more vividly than by my feeble accents, the perils of the situation and at the same time appreciate the general sense, if indeed, I may not say, the *universal* opinion of the treachery of the Chinese, I beg to read to you an original letter from Mr Bull, an old American resident, who was afterward my Partner in our Shanghae House, as follows :—

“Macao, Sunday 23 May 1841.

Dear Nye.—

1 P. M.

“Your Brother arrived here safe this morning & has landed all his traps—and Hunter and myself arrived safe yesterday—We are very happy to learn that all the foreign Community had got away from Canton in safety. From the accounts your Brother gives we think the City was attacked on Friday night and I think the City and Mandarins richly deserve what they will get. Those Hong Merchants and Linguists must have known what was to happen when they told us there was no fear or danger in remaining in Canton. I hope your balance of account is on the right side, for I think there is not much safety for what was left behind.—

Yours truly,

G. Nye Jr. Esq.

Whampoa

Isaac M. Bull.

Mr Bull had then been misinformed as to all the Foreign Community having gotten away from Canton in safety, nor did he and others at Macao know of my own or the other numerous narrow escapes ; — but when a little later in the day their anxiety was aroused for myself, he and Mr. Gillespie and my Brother started in my Brig, the “Jane,” for Whampoa, and met me the day after just below Whampoa on board another Vessel bound down the River.—Meantime, Mr Dent and many others had escaped from the Factories on board the British vessels of War and their tenders, lying along the river front and in the Macao passage ; but when the attack came, were in perilous danger still,—there being but two steamers and the sailing Vessels being unmanageable in the darkness of the night, assailed on all sides by Cannon, Jingalls, fire rafts and armed Junks.— And still others were in greater jeopardy :—Mr. Coolidge—of whom I have before spoken—and Mr. Morss (the latter of the House of Olyphant & Co.) with two Clerks and a boat’s crew of the American ship “Morrison”, were intercepted by the attack and compelled to hide in their Hong until day light, when all but Mr. Coolidge attempted to escape in the boat, but were attacked when near Dutch Folly

and carried Prisoners into the City, the youngest of the boat's crew, son of Mr. Sherry of New York, being missing and supposed to be killed or drowned. Mr. Coolidge, who was left behind, was near being torn in pieces by the mob, when happily he espied a red-button Mandarin and making gestures attracted his attention, who saved his life by giving peremptory orders to his subordinates to take him to prison.—

I must not forget one incident more of this treacherous attack; personal to myself and family, that awakened in my Mother's heart a painful sensation when, shortly after, my Brother took home with him to show her, as it were a trophy, a 12lbs or 18lbs shot that had been fired from the little Red fort (then a Mandarin station) that is near my present Hong at Honam; and which had passed through the room that five or six hours before I had been in and where also my Brother had been with me within a day or two before,—it being used as my Office. From the direction the ball took, it would have been fatal to both of us had we been at our desks at the time; and as my Brother, I fear somewhat mischievously, expatiated upon the narrowness of our escape, my Mother's sensibility was awakened to past or future dangers; and a

Maternal Mandate was sent to command my return, from a Country of imprisonments and constant personal hazard, to the bosom of my yearning family.— In fact, my Cousin Mr. Hathaway was appealed to in such a reproachful strain by my Mother as induced him to write me how disturbing it was to have my continued stay in China imputed to him.—

On the 24th Sir Hugh Goff of the Army and the Naval Chief for the time being, Sir Fleming Senhouse, arrived from Hongkong and made preparations to invest the City; landing troops to take possession of the Factories and demanding the release of all prisoners; so that Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Morss and the others were set free after two or three days of imprisonment and fearful suffering and apprehension;—poor young Sherry never being heard of afterward.—

Then was seen the strange thing that has in the second War been repeated by the enrollment of the aptly-called “Bamboo Rifles” at Hongkong, to assist in hostilities against their own Country:—Sir Charles Elliot having induced the chop-boat men by dint of power, of course, as well as persuasion, to receive the troops and assist in working the boats up to Lee Ming Koon, \*where the most

\* the charming spot where we were recently so delightfully entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Sampson.

of them landed to beleaguer the City; the Chop-boats offering good shelter from Sun and rain at that most squally season of the year. On the 25th the forces landed and marched to the attack of the rear forts and on the 26th preparations were made to capture or destroy the City, when a parley was requested from the walls in order to agree upon terms of surrender. Night came before the Officers arrived; and the attack was deferred until morning,—when, just as every thing was ready for opening fire, a message came from Sir Charles Elliot to Sir Hugh Goff requesting delay for him to complete negotiations.—These were brought to a close on the 27th, resulting in the conditions which H. E. made public on the 5th of June.—

“Macao, 5th June 1841.

“The perfidy of the Imperial Commissioners having induced a course of brilliant operations, by land and water, placing H. M.’s forces in commanding positions over the walls of Canton, the Authorities, on the 27th ulto., made overtures for prevention of further hostilities, upon which the following terms were granted to them.—

“1st—“It is required that the three Imperial Commissioners and all the troops other than those of the province quit the City within six days, and proceed a distance of upwards of sixty miles.—

“2nd—“Six millions of dollars to be paid in one week, for the use of the Crown of England, counting from the 27th May.

“—One million payable before sunset of the 27th May.—

“3rd—“For the present the British troops to remain in actual positions. No additional preparation on either side. If the whole sum agreed upon be not paid within seven days, it shall be increased to 7 millions; if not within fourteen

“days, to 8 millions ; if not within twenty days, to 9 millions.  
 “When the whole be paid all the British forces to return  
 “without the Bocca Tigris, and Wangtong and all fortified  
 “places within the river to be restored but not to be remanned  
 “or armed till affairs are settled between the two Nations.—  
 “4th—“Losses occasioned by the destruction of the Factories  
 “and of the Spanish brig “Bilbaino” to be paid within one  
 “week.—  
 “5th—“It is required that the Kwang Chow foo shall produce  
 “full power to conclude these arrangements on the part of  
 “the three commissioners, the Governor-General, the General  
 “of the garrison, and the Fooyuen, having their Excellencies’  
 “seals.

[ ] Seal of the Kwang Chow foo.

“An extensive evacuation of troops having taken  
 “place from the City, with their arms, but without display of  
 “banners, a ransom of five millions of dollars being paid up, and  
 “security taken for the remainder, Her Majesty’s forces have  
 “retired from their positions over the City. The places to  
 “be restored to be delivered up as soon as the departure of  
 “the two Chief Imperial Commissioners has been ascertained,  
 “and officially reported by the Officer left in command before  
 “Canton.—

“In the brief campaign of less than 10 days a re-  
 “solute night attempt to destroy the ships of War by fire and  
 “other means has been repelled ; a flotilla of upwards of 100  
 “sail of armed and fire vessels have been destroyed : a line  
 “of works, mounting upwards of 60 pieces of artillery, has  
 “been carried ; and by an unsurpassable combination of  
 “masterly disposition, ardour and constancy, a small British  
 “force (moved through a Country possessing excessive  
 “difficulties, in the face of a numerous army), wrested from  
 “the enemy in the short space of ten hours, a line of fortified  
 “and steep heights protected by a well sustained fire from  
 “the City walls ; and dislodged a heavy and menacing mass  
 “of troops from a strong encampment on the left of their  
 “position.—

“The whole course and results of these most re-  
 “markable and admirably-executed operations will reflect  
 “lasting honour upon the distinguished Officers under whose  
 “command they have been achieved, and upon all arms of  
 “the force taking part in the success.”—

Meantime, whilst the British forces held their positions, a force of 15.000 village braves made an attack ; and as in the rain some of the Indian troops got separated from the main body and their muskets got wet,—there was an appearance of panic that encouraged the Chinese and led to a deal of self-glorification, that was to do harm in future. There was also intense heat and afterward a tremendous tempest of thunder, lighting and rain.—

On the 29th a still larger force of braves assumed a more menacing attitude, when Sir Hugh Gough declared to the Mandarins that if the Chinese did not retire, he should open fire upon the City ; whereupon the braves were persuaded to disperse.—

This incident furnished an instructive chapter of the local war and used to crop up on all subsequent occasions of difficulty, until the effectual chastening of the Campaign of Peking :—For the Canton braves always boasted that but for the persuasion of their Mandarins, on that occasion, they could have destroyed the whole British force ; and it soon appeared that at Peking this version of the ransom of Canton was believed :—Indeed, Yih shan, the Emperor's Nephew, with audacity and falsehood corresponding with his

previous treachery to Foreigners, reported a victory to his Uncle and bestowed medals upon the troops which he was compelled to disband ; —declaring that in the terrible Tempest the Gënni of the City of Rams \*were seen hovering in the air and so affrighted the Foreigners that they begged for mercy and besought the Mandarins to prevent the braves from exterminating them.—Unhappily, too, a Commissary-Officer of rank, who was a stout person, suffered a sun-stroke ; and his head being severed from his body, that, with his sword, fell into the hands of a veritable Chinese Falstaff, who, —himself “with fat Capons lined,”—with all the bombast, had more than the cunning, but none of the redeeming humor, of his renowned prototype, whereby to shine in “borrowed plumes” after a dastardly act, as I shall relate.

The Son of a Hong-Merchant, he had been petted by some of the Company’s Officers as a handsome young man and acquired more readiness in English than any other Chinese of his day, which with a marked suavity of manner, enabled him to ingratiate himself with one Foreigner after another,—whom he in turn deceived, until he became quite notorious for changing Chops of Tea, mixing, &c. &c. and ending with personal quarrels ;—one of which with the Chief

\* alluded to at page 5 of 1st Lecture.



of a British House of great respectability that has an Establishment here now, spread the bad fame of this Falstaff abroad, as he called his two Chair Coolies to the rescue when the Gentleman attempted to chastise him for his insolence.—

Neither my Cousin or myself had ever dealt with him ; but when, during the summer (of 1841) I returned here, he came to see me and with most elaborate blandishments explained to me that he wanted to get up a sort of masquerade to amuse the Ladies of his family, and would be greatly obliged if I would lend him some European garment for the occasion, wherein to envelop himself. I happened to have a Spanish Cloak with tassels and corded borders from South America and lent it to him without hesitation.—Time wore on, and at length when wintry weather came and I was about to return to Macao, I be-thought me of my Cloak and sent for it,—getting the reply that the borrower was not at home. Repeatedly afterward the same reply came, until, at length, I went once myself, and as I entered the Hong, saw Falstaff dodging me behind the curtain ; when he,—not suspecting that I saw him,—sent his servant to say—“have go out”.—Disgusted, I went back to my house ; and some time after an Imperial

Edict,—bestowing rewards upon the Braves and the leaders of the people, *for driving the British forces away from Canton*,—was called to my attention: When lo! the truth flashed upon my benighted mind, on reading that this Falstaffian Hero had been reported by the military Chiefs as having slain an English Officer of rank, and sent the head, sword and cloak of the Barbarian to Peking, accordingly. —Whereupon Imperial favor was shewn by the bestowal of special commendations and the order that this Bombastes should be decorated with a Peacock's feather!—

Thus in a double sense he shone at Peking in 'borrowed plumes', and was here rewarded with real ones.

I did not quarrel with him, for my indignation was swallowed up in admiration and wonder at the audacity and adroitness by which he had purloined a Cloak from me and a Peacock's feather from his *venerated* Emperor,—save the mark!

And of those, who,—dazzled by this Falstaffs' Peacock's feather,—have admired his strutting, portly, gait,—few have suspected that he shone in plumage filched from the Emperor, and fattened upon Capons the spoil of the State.

The incident is of utility in

my narration, as illustrating the facility with which deception was then practiced upon the Emperor and the consequent imperative necessity to reach Peking.

Aptly true as strange the Falstaffian parallel does not end with this,—for there was here, also, a Prince of the blood,—the Emperor's Nephew Yih-shan—the Generalissimo *infamous* for treachery and faithlessness, as we have seen; and wanting the nobly-redeeming traits of Shakspeare's Henry of England.

And as to this grandiloquent recounter of fabulous victories over the foreign Barbarians,—fit Chief of our local Falstaff,—he must be recognized, in the history of our intercourse, as the most shining Blade—(though false was the glitter)—of his Race and Country, until we reach the *ne plus ultra* in perfidy and cowardly cruelty in the capture and torture of Sir Harry Parkes and his Companions, near Peking, by that Prince of Nomads, or *Allmads*,—*the creme-de-la-creme O' Tartar*,

SANG-KO-LIN-TSIN.

Thus the Campaign of Canton ended with no marked effect upon the relations with the Court of Peking ; but its inception and conclusion alike reflected the diplomatic ability of Sir Charles Elliot, whilst the forced trade had enabled the Merchants to effect a mutually advantageous interchange of Imports and Exports and had brought correlative gain also to both the British and Chinese Government Exchequers.

But before even its inception was known in England, two Chiefs into whose hands fell Swords without scabbards,— Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir William Parker,— came out to supersede Sir Charles Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer and, in conjunction with Sir Hugh Gough, carry the war to the North.

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Reviewing this First Campaign in China, as we may call it, we detect at once the fundamental error of Her Majesty's Government in the inadequacy of the force provided,— namely, the worst of all errors in War,—the underrating, not to say despising of the enemy; and the ignoring of the potent fact that, in tropical Countries especially, the elements often seem, as it were, to conspire to war for those who will not defend themselves.

The result of the visit of Admiral and Sir Charles Elliot to the Peiho was what I had virtually foretold,—a fresh rupture ; and as Sir Henry Pottinger, eighteen months later, detected the error and saw that even his augmented force was insufficient for a campaign to Peking, the essential point to assure peaceful future relations was not reached during the first War.

Hence, continued repellence and impracticability and the inevitable incidents of complete dead-locks leading to fresh ruptures ; —the characteristics of an armed truce or *quasi* War.

I have now reached the point whereat to touch what I considered the very *Key-Note* of policy ; and where I fear you will see cause to accuse me of undue egotism in now sounding it, as it were, in my own praise, although I claim only to have written at former periods, as I now speak, with perfect sincerity. —Aiming to reflect the spirit of the time, so far as I am instinct with it, whether in the appreciation of political events and their origin, or in the lighter incidents of social life, I have invited you to accompany me through the halls of memory, whose walls are peopled with the images of those who trode yonder streets,—to thus convey to your mind's eye,

as it were, not only a visible picture of the reality,— but to faithfully present, also, a measured conception, at least, of the latent causes and impelling motives of the actions of the ruling minds of those days.—

I am, nevertheless, mindful that however truthfully I may thus present the record, and however successfully I may have probed to latent principles of action, there are also counteracting and impelling causes and motives—of an accidental or fortuitous character—which powerfully influence or control the course of events.—

It is in this spirit that I recur to the intimation I gave, when reading extracts of the Memorial to the Congress of the United States which I drafted, that I reserved its essential suggestive point for future notice. That point is made in these words :

“We beg to submit to your decision, the expediency of appointing a Minister to the Court of Peking, empowered to establish equitable relations ; *whereby his right of residence at the Seat of Government would be secured as a preliminary ;* “—when as we believe, all reasonable propositions for the “mutual security of Trade and intercourse would be entertained by the Supreme Government.”—

Thus it was that, so early as April 23rd 1839, a month before the British Memorial was drawn up, I enunciated what at every stage of future relations proved to be the first condition of a good understanding; —

that is to say, *the Minister's right of residence at Peking*, which I said *would be secured as a preliminary*.—

The British Memorial not only makes no distinct point of this kind, —it does not even allude to the Seat of Government; but in the most generalized form suggests attempts to modify existing relations: Thus,—the only allusions to a change are in the following paragraph:—

“We therefore think your Lordship will be “convinced that some serious alterations in our relations “with this Empire are indispensably necessary; and that “British Commerce can never safely be carried on, and “certainly can never flourish in a Country where our persons “and property are alike at the mercy of a capricious and “corrupt Government.—

I had lost sight of the memorial that I drafted, for 31 years; but as in the meantime this *sine qua non* of friendly relations had been constantly ignored by our Governments, I had at various periods recalled my emphatic reënunciation of it in the letter of June 5th 1840 already quoted: and when, in November 1856, the local hostilities commenced with High Commissioner Yeh, I embodied the same opinion in the “Rationale of the China Question” in various forms; but will cite only two or three instances.—

Thus, I then wrote:—

“We have taken the liberty to reproduce the letter of June

"1840 because we find a retrospective view vivified by a contemporaneous exposé of the situation ;— but chiefly, "also, because the opinions we thus expressed sixteen years ago, have now the test of time and experience justifying a reiteration of the most important of them, which has now, even more than then, a comprehensiveness of meaning, namely : *The indispensable necessity to proceed to Peking for redress of past wrongs and security of future rights.*" And I added :—"*this is the voice of the past that we venture to echo to-day, not our own feeble wail for opportunities lost.*"

Again, in alluding to the claim of universal supremacy by the Emperor, I said :—"Longer toleration of such absurd claims, or a course evading the issue that they involve, will be fatal to all hope of real progress ; whereas, by plucking up the roots of the prime evil at Peking, we cause the branches all over the Country to wither at once."— Again : "If the late Emperor, as we see by his own words, thought the English destitute of any high purpose, in 1849, what will the present one think now, if the rights of equality are not claimed where, only, they can be becomingly or effectively—at Peking ?"— Again : "A suitable reception at Peking is now, surely, the only admissible preliminary proof of amity and the sole touch-stone of good faith."—"Refusal of suitable reception at Peking and residence of Agent there imposes the exaction of material guaranties by possession of the Islands of Chusan and Formosa."

Such are some of the iterations to which I felt impelled in those more exciting times.—

And I well remember that, after His Excellency Mr Reed, the American Minister had just finished the reading of the whole of my "Rationale of the China Question" at one sitting, in December 1857, and thereupon invited me to a walk with him, to



talk the subject over, he said—"you take an extreme view, Mr. Nye,—you go further than Lord Elgin,".

"Well Sir," I said, "then Your Excellency will find "that Lord Elgin stops short of the needs of the time :—I "write in the interest of the Chinese people, not of their "Rulers ; and whether the latter are weak or strong, there's "not less a necessity to go to Peking :—The future cannot "be assured short of that."—

But what, on the other hand, was the course of the Foreign Ministers upon that vital point of reaching Peking?—Neither of them went there ; but made Treaties at Tientsin, the Ambassadors of England and France alone stipulating for the mere *option* of residence of their Ministers at Peking ;—the same right accruing to Russia and America under the favored-Nation clause.—

And what was the result of this halting policy?—Why!—upon the approach of Sir Frederick Bruce to the mouth of the Peiho,—proceeding toward Peking with the ratified Treaty,—the Gunboats escorting him were fired upon by the Taku forts and the Forces then brought up to aid the fleet were defeated with great slaughter.—

And thus it was, also, that Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were compelled to come the second time from Europe to China, —and, with a large force, proceed step by step to the Capture of Peking ;—*with what*

*further loss of valuable lives and what piteous suffering, the painful and heroic record tells !*

It is to confirmations such as these,—repeated as *the very logic of events*,—at every new phase of our relations,—that I appeal, for the value of my original opinions of 1839-40 :— And which embolden me to approach the point whereat I have aimed, in now calling your attention to this incident in my historical studies and personal experience.

It has been recently said of a distinguished Historian of England\*, by the most acute of modern thinkers †, that —“he has shewn two eminent faculties of an Historian,—the faculty of seeing *wholes* and the faculty of seeing and saying *particulars* : —The one makes History valuable, and the other makes it readable—interesting.”

Now, far be it from me to claim recognition in the dignified walk of History ; but if I had discerned from the first, —*in this necessity to reach Peking and end, once for all. the assumption of supremacy, that one of the several wholes, which the History of Foreign intercourse with China has since presented as the very Key-stone of the arch of the superstructure of peaceful relations*,— I am sure you will indulge my pointing to it :

\* Mr. Froude.      † Mr. Emerson.

Whilst my ambition is, simply to so narrate *particulars* that you shall feel repaid the attention that you so generously accord me ; and my hope, that the fidelity of my sketch may so far atone for its fragmentary character as to lead you to accept it as part of the materials of History.

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## THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

*Note referring to pages 6 to 25 of the 1st Lecture.*

As it appears that—although I was quite unaware of it when I delivered my first Lecture—my eulogium of the Honorable Company was singularly fitting in point of time, I may be permitted to here recall attention to what I said and to reproduce what sounds almost like an echo of it; the coincidence being the more remarkable because of the correspondence in point of time, although of course that was quite accidental.

I allude to the following editorial of the London Times of April 8th,—which was 67 days after the delivery of my Lecture,—and I am glad to enrich my sketch of the Company's brilliant and useful—nay majestic and beneficent—career, with a historical notice at once as comprehensive as it is succinct and essentially confirmatory of my own appreciation of it.

“THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.”

The Birth and Growth of England's Rule in Asia.

*From the London Times, April 8.*

“Not many days ago the House of Commons passed a resolution which at one time would have had profound political significance, but which now possesses merely an antiquarian or historical interest. Notice was given to the East India Company that its accounts are to be finally wound up and arrangement made for the redemption of the dividend

upon its stock by the end of April, 1874. A bill for effecting those objects is being carried through Parliament by Mr. Grant Duff and Mr. Ayrton. The commutation proposed by the bill is favorable both to the finances of the Indian Government and to the pecuniary interest of the proprietors of East India stock. If any of the latter class think fit to refuse the terms of commutation, their claims will 'be paid off by the 30th of April, 1874, at the rate of £200 sterling for every £100 of stock. In these fiscal arrangements there is nothing that calls particularly for remark. But another clause of the bill provides for the dissolution of the Company itself, and the final extinction of all its powers, on the 1st of June, 1874. This is an event which brings to mind reflections not unlike those aroused by the news that a Royal or Imperial exile has passed away at Claremont or Chiselhurst. The dissolution contemplated by the bill formally closes a chapter in our national history and in the record of civilized progress which the world will not let die; and though the doom of "John Company" was irrevocably pronounced more than fourteen years ago, an historical figure so unique and so imposing cannot be permitted to pass without a last word, to the oblivion of the sepulchre.

In its day—and its day was a century crowded with great events—the Company showed itself the equal of the mightiest Monarchs, and of the proudest of conquering dynasties. We have compared it in its last moments with exiled and deposed royalty; but what line of emperors or kings could point to a domain so splendid, so marvelously won? When Leipsic and Waterloo overthrew the fabric of Napoleon's Empire, the World wondered at first how the catastrophe came to pass, but afterward wondered more why in so hollow and unnatural a structure it had been so long delayed. But in India "John Company" sprang full armed and a predestined conqueror into political life not much more than a century ago. After 150 years of slow and discouraging development as a trading association, the "Merchants Adventurers," despised before by their native customers and their European rivals as a sleepy, groveling, and cold-blooded set of second-rate shop-keepers, gave proof on a sudden of the qualities of their race, subjugated an Empire, founded a

polity, and gave England for all time a foremost place as an Asiatic Power. Little did the London traders who, in the first year of the seventeenth century, set up in business under a charter from Queen Elizabeth, dream of conquest and Imperial power in the distant East. With difficulty, after various incitements to national and commercial rivalry afforded by the success of the Portuguese and the Dutch, the capital of £30,000 was subscribed, and during the first century of the Company's existence the tardiness of its progress as a commercial organization seemed to justify the distrust with which its foundation was received. It was at the epoch of the Revolution that the prospects of our "Merchants Adventurers" began to brighten and expand. The daring spirit of the Childs the able brothers who ruled the Company during the last quarter of the seventeenth century; counted for something in the growth of its trade and wealth, but the cornerstone of its rising greatness was Tea. Indeed, for more than 150 years later the China trade, in which Tea was the principal item, was financially the mainstay of the Company.\* But, however the trade might have been extended, political power would never have come within the reach of the "Merchants Adventurers" if they had not been wise enough to appease, early in the reign of Anne, the rivalry which its successes had created in the Eastern trade. In 1702 the "Interlopers" and the Scotch East India Company, who held a separate charter from James I., were amalgamated with the original body of "Merchants Adventurers," as the "United

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\* Yes Tea—of which, by its Charter, it was bound to keep a full year's consumption always in stock in England—was long the very staff of life, pecuniarily, to the Company.

It was in 1668 that the Company's Agent at Bantam (in Java) was desired to send home 100lbs of Tea, the best to be had, as the order ran : Such was the beginning, about two centuries ago, of the great Trade that was en-

East India Company." This last association was established by Royal charter, and, in spite of many and most vital changes, it has continued to exist, under different prolongations and transformations of its authority, down to the present time. This, in fact, is the Company which the bill now before Parliament is intended to dissolve.

With the eighteenth century a new career opened in India for the English, now comparatively free from internal divisions, though as yet they failed to perceive the scope of their destinies. But the rivalry of the French, who had succeeded to the Dutch, as the Dutch had succeeded to the Portuguese, in the hegemony of European civilization in the East, whetted the ardor of our countrymen. To Dupleix we owe Clive, and to Clive we owe our Empire in India. It is fair to confess that the French were before us in that art by which we won our Eastern dominions. It was with Sepoy armies, led by Englishmen, that all our great Indian triumphs before the shattering of mutual faith in 1857, were obtained. The defense of Arcot, the victory of Plassy, the apparent ease with which the English rulers of India trampled down both the moldering pride of the Moguls and the fierce young strength of the Mahrattas, impressed the imagination of the Hindoos with an undefined but overwhelming sense of the greatness of "Kompani Bahaudur," and this superstitious reverence remained untouched by temporary disasters until the mutiny. Then all at once it passed away. The spell of the Company's power was broken; and if the Crown had not assumed supreme authority in India, the result of attempting to govern through the old forms under the new conditions would probably have been disastrous. Yet the interval

ormously gainful to the Company; and the question has been suggested, as to what would be British relations with India at this time, if Tea had not become a necessity in Europe and America and thus sustained the Company financially during the critical periods of its existence.—

G. N. Jr.



between the battle of Plassey and the mutiny, which is covered by the period of true political dominion administered by the Company, is one of the most honorable in the annals of the civilized World. Never did any Government resting its title merely upon conquest, rule so ably, so humanely, and yet so firmly for an equal space of time. The steady progress of Military success, of political power, and of improved administration scarcely finds a check at any single period between the return of Clive to India in 1765, and the Queen's proclamation of 1858. This is not the language of mere panegyric. The East India Company came to an end years ago, and to-day we only celebrate its obsequies and write its epitaph. We acknowledge its errors and shortcomings:—they were many, and sometimes they seemed to counterbalance the advantages of its government. But when we take considerable periods of time, and thus review the progress of English power and of civilized Government in India, we are constrained to acknowledge the admirable results of the Company's despotism. Yet these benevolent despots were no philosophers, no philanthropists, no Antonines. They were simply speculators in East India stock."

Nay!—this is stinted, halting praise that both the Times and myself accord the Company:—For, in addition to the civilizing and beneficent effects of its stable rule upon the people of India and the correlative recompense to the people of England, we must remember that it was through its patronage and instrumentality that the Western Nations became enriched by a great accession to their knowledge of Oriental literature; and the magnitude of the debt to the Company for this may best be measured by the language of one of Germany's most profound philosophers:—

“For the knowledge of the Sanscrit tongues and literature—  
 “an event in literary importance inferior only to the revival  
 “of Greek learning, and in a religious and philosophic point  
 “of view, pregnant, perhaps, with greater results, mankind  
 “have been indebted to the influence of British commerce ;  
 “and it is not one of the least services which that commerce  
 “has rendered to the cause of civilization. In the promotion  
 “of Sanscrit learning, the Merchant Princes of Britain emu-  
 “lated the noble zeal displayed four centuries before by the  
 “Merchant Princes of Florence, in the encouragement and  
 “diffusion of Hellenic literature”

G. N. Jr.

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With reference to the close of the 1st Lecture, I beg  
 to recall what I wrote in September 1864, desiderating the  
 construction of a Railway hence to the Tea Districts of  
 Hunan.

Extract of a Circular of the writer dated

Canton, 8th September, 1864.

“ If in the meantime English and French capitalists  
 would devote a portion of their surplus means to the one  
 measure which of all others would most promote the welfare  
 of the Chinese people while yielding a prolific return to the  
 promoters of it and conserving the beneficent purposes of  
 Government,—security, peace, plenty and progress,—by  
 commencing the Railway from Canton toward Hankow,  
 projected by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, the reprehensible  
 errors and short-comings of the past may be measurably  
 compensated.

By thus increasing the volume of business the newly-  
 formed Instruments of it,—the Banking Companies so  
 frequently announced,—based upon the surplus means of the  
 prosperous people of England and France, Holland and  
 Germany and the large gains of the older Banks, may most  
 surely promote their own prosperity.

The most pressing want of the Railway is between  
 Canton and Siangtan the great Tea Mart on the Siang River  
 about midway of the Hunan Province, whereat the “Oopack”

and "Moning" as well as the "Oonam" Teas are packed and sold ; and as that river is navigable for steamers some distance this side of Siangtan, the general traffic might commence soon after the Railway reaches that Province.

From rather precise information from several Gentlemen who passed over the route a few years since, we are confident that there is no considerable elevation to overcome and that altogether the construction would prove cheaper than any Railway known to British Contractors."

NYE & Co.

September 23d 1864.

"Reverting to the subject of the proposed Railway from Canton to Hankow, as the measure of all others available most fraught with blessings both moral and material to the Chinese people,—as reaching in this double sense and most directly the heart of the Empire,—we cannot but allude again to the compensation due to them as passive sufferers in the destructive collisions of the two civilizations, out of which the obvious gain has chiefly been to our own, to point out that in taking the initiative of forcible inculcation, we committed ourselves to the correlative obligation to contribute the beneficent results of Western civilization, as embodied in Railways and other means of intercommunication and hence of moral and social culture prelusive of those of a spiritual nature. But we have no need to appeal to a sense of duty for incentive to this undertaking, since the volume of trade alone and irrespective of the passenger traffic of this populous Country, will suffice for its ample productiveness to the Shareholders.

And since its utility to the Government, as a means of preserving order, is susceptible of clear demonstration to the Court of Peking, we may hope that the present cordial accord of the four Great Powers in presence there by their able Representatives,—England, France, Russia and America,—may be effective in obtaining, not only the permissive sanction of the Imperial Government but its assurance of pecuniary support of this undertaking."

NYE & Co.

## COMMENDATORY NOTICES OF THE FIRST LECTURE.

(from the China Review, North-China Herald, Shanghai Courier, Daily Press, China Mail, &c.)

## REVIEW.

The Morning of my Life in China, by G. Nye, Esq.

"THE author of this interesting work is an American Gentleman who has resided in China in a mercantile capacity, with slight intervals of travels to his home and to Europe, for forty years. Literary pursuits are like greatness—some are born authors and some have authorship thrust upon them. Mr. Nye seems to belong to the latter category, and the history of the small volume under review is as follows: At Canton the Venerable Archdeacon Gray, with two merchants, one an Englishman and the other a German in an American house, formed themselves into a Committee for providing the Community with entertainments of an amusing and instructive nature during the winter of 1872-1873, and among many gentlemen who favored them with their literary and musical talents, Mr. Nye was, as an old and respected resident, applied to for aid, which with his usual good nature he at once promised. He chose for his subject\* the "Morning of his life in China," and gave his audience an account of the political and commercial events in Canton from 1833 to 1839, which was probably one of the most important periods in the history of the intercourse between the eastern and western portions of the world. Mr. Nye treated the subject in so masterly a manner,—his remarks were so thoughtful and his descriptions were so graphic—that many of his auditors, composed of missionaries, officials and merchants, were anxious to peruse in print what had interested them so much in delivery, and requested Mr. Nye to publish his lecture. The result of this request is now before us; and by its handsome type and beautiful paper, does justice alike to the important period described and to the able manner in which it was treated.

To Occidentals of all classes, who, like ourselves, are apt to be despondent at the slow and almost imperceptible

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\* the subject was suggested by the initiator of the course of Lectures.

progress China herself and our relations with China, whether political, religious or commercial, seem to make, we would recommend the perusal of Mr. Nye's work ; that they may—from perceiving how all things have advanced in the past in the memory of a man still in the vigor of life,—form brighter hopes for the future. Progress itself may be likened to some heavy locomotive which requires enormous efforts before it is set in motion at all, and which moves slowly at first, but gathers speed the further it advances, until; at last, its course is irresistible. And though it would be doing a great injustice to the many merits of Mr. Nye's lecture, to suppose that this is the only merit it possesses, we shall be forced by want of space and the multifarious interests Mr. Nye has expatiated on, to confine our attention to this one point. Compare, for instance, the secret way Mr. Nye had to be smuggled into Canton with the freedom with which we now travel in the interior, and surely we may find in the contrast some ground for hope that the restrictions which now fetter our trade and intercourse to a few spots, may soon be entirely removed ;—that merchants may shortly be permitted to open houses wherever they can find trade, and that Mr. Burlingame's saying of the flaming cross being set up on a myriad of hills may turn out to have been a prophecy, though it was at the time of its utterance a gross exaggeration. Compare too the time when the "outer waters had as yet never been vexed "with the incisive prow of a steamer" to the present time, when steam Companies are so numerous and so successful, that last year a steam Company entirely owned by Chinese was started. Surely it cannot be a long interval before that which is found so profitable on the sea, shall not only be introduced into the rivers and creeks, but that Mr. Nye's wish will soon be fulfilled and "our native friends will learn to "welcome the neighing of the iron-horse as he careers from town to town exultingly." Compare too the law that no "foreign lady or other contraband" might be admitted at Canton—and the refusal of the authorities to see our Minister, with the present delightful society we have at all the ports of China and the civility accorded in general by all classes to us ; as well as with the pleasing fact that Chinese ladies have been known, though rarely, to visit their European and

American sisters. Is it too sanguine to expect that the Audience Question will be soon satisfactorily and definitely settled ; and that our countrymen, in which term we include French, Germans, Spaniards, Americans, Portuguese, &c., will soon be welcomed in Chinese Society with the respect their knowledge, civilization and gentlemanly bearing entitle them to. 1833 to 1873,—40 years—the larger half of a man's lifetime, is but a short period in the history of nations ; and large as our trade may seem when we compare it with the past, it will seem as nothing to what we may expect it to become in the near future. Settled on a few distant points on the edge of the Empire, our intercourse with China is still in its infancy—and it will require much care and experienced nursing, as well as much abstention from unwise interference, to allow it to grow to full vigor. As our intercourse increases the world's history must become modified. A third of the human race, composed too of industrious, talented and kindly individuals, has had its intellect and power abnormally cramped by an unnatural seclusion. As the proper conditions of free intercourse are gradually restored, China may rise to be worthy to take her part in the comity of nations, and a blessing will result to those countries who have most energetically urged her to enter on that course of world-wide intercourse and commerce, in which alone, as the world now stands, her dream of universal supremacy has any chance of being realised." SHANGHAI COURIER

REVIEW.

The Morning of My Life in China ; by G. Nye, Esq.

"This interesting brochure contains a vivid and faithful description of events in Canton during the momentous period from 1833 to 1839—Canton being then, it is needless to say, the only point of contact between the then secluded land of China and the commerce and learning of the West. Mr. Nye's work might well have been entitled Early Intercourse with Cathay ; but he by no means confines himself to dry history. The persons, occupations and even jokes of his associates are duly recorded ; so that the reader has, as it were, a tableau-vivant of the band of adventurous and able men who were the pioneers of trade in these remote regions, and who were the establishers of the princely houses whose magnificent

palaces are now the admiration of new arrivals in Hongkong and Shanghai. If the saying be true, and we certainly think it is, that the man who makes two blades of corn grow where only one had grown before, is a greater hero than a general who has taken a hundred cities; then surely these first residents in Canton, to whom the poor owe their comforting tea and the rich their magnificent silks, must have had qualities which render their lives, their temperaments and doings of the deepest interest to students who view history in the light that Hallam and our modern historians have; and who do not confine their attention to the dry details of Court doings or still dryer details of dates of battlefields. But even if the period had been unmarked by great events, and the men described merely ordinary men, Mr. Nye wields his pen so well that he could have roused our interest in them by the same sort of alchemy that George Eliot keeps us spell-bound on the daily life, doings and sayings of a village like Middlemarch. But of the dates between 1833 to 1839, it may truly be said there were giants in those days; and in China events were maturing that have affected and will still affect the history of the world. To quote Mr. Nye's own words:—

“The Canton of that day presented to the foreigner in general a very circumscribed geographical idea, and indeed to the statesman a circumscribed political idea, it being still the period of close monopoly, the *regime* of the British East India Company on the one hand, and of the Co-hong on the other; yet to the merchant it was already an expansive commercial idea. It was the sole mart of the Foreign trade of China, and known the world over as *par excellence* the great mart of the East;—and destined soon to become the theatre of a course of memorable events which, in their inception, were to inflate, and in their close to humble, the mandarin pride in the dust.

“The period was indeed of the highest political and commercial interest. For it was when the echoes of the din of preparation for the impending final struggle in the House of Commons, between the upholders of monopoly and the champions of free trade, reached us by every vessel from the shores of England. It was the very eve of the expiration of

the East India Company's charter, and the question of the renewal of its exclusive trading privileges; associated as it had been in the mind of the time with the great contest for reform in parliamentary representation, deeply moved the passions of the respective champions, and attracted the attention of the world; and it forms to this day the most memorable assertion of the principles of free trade ever witnessed, with the exception of the struggle for the abolition of the Corn laws in 1846. \* \* \* \* \*

In the contest of 1834 in the House of Commons, upon the question of the renewal of the Company's charter, was involved the whole question of intercourse with China; it was the momentous question whether the Representatives of England should henceforward continue to be supercargoes or whether they should be ambassadors. You will perceive at a glance that here was one of the greatest questions of the age,—a question involving not only the relations of the great Empires and peoples of Britain and of China, but the relations of the world at large with China."

For descriptions of the persons by whom, and for detailed accounts of the events by which, this great question was solved, so far as up to the present time it is solved, we must refer our readers to the work under review, and believe that they will agree with us in hoping that the author will continue the labor he has commenced. "North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette."

*\*The Morning of My Life in China*, by G. Nye, Junr., Esq.

A Lecture delivered at Canton.

"We are glad to see that old residents in China are beginning to give us the history of their experiences. China is every day exciting more and more attention in the minds of European students of history and philosophy, and any addition to our knowledge of the circumstances attending our first intercourse with her are peculiarly interesting. Mr. Nye's lecture treats of the period between 1833 to 1839, and not only notes the important events that happened during that period, but also gives

\* This notice of the first Lecture reached me after I delivered the Second one, so that my allusion to the Opium question was uninfluenced by this review. G. N. Jr.



a vivid description of the actors in the scene, their feelings and characters. Mr Nye possesses a combination of zeal and good sense that enables him to be at once an ardent advocate of progress and free trade, and at the same time to be exceedingly considerate to the feelings of those who differ from him. A firm believer in the superiority of western civilization, no man has a keener eye to the defects of the Chinese character and Government; on the other hand, no one is more quick to perceive the good points this hitherto isolated people possesses. To those who wish to form an estimate of the extent to which China has progressed, or who desire to have personal details of the first founders of the foreign commercial Houses, and finally to those who desire simply an hour's amusement, we can recommend Mr. Nye's little work. Readers of all tastes will be gratified; the philosophical will find something to interest them in the way ideas have spread from west to east and the romantic will be contented by the recitals of dangers and perils endured.

The main portion of the lecture consists of a chain of interesting reminiscences of times which are looked back to in China with more affection, we suspect, than they deserve. It is true that, besides the golden halo which the past always wins from its mere distance, there was a tangible silvern glory about those days which is now said to be fled for ever; but the silver edging was connected with so much extreme discomfort and privation that it may be questioned whether it is not almost better to have fallen on less lucrative but more happy times. It is well that several of the fathers of Anglo-Chinese Society have been moved, before their finally quitting China, to revive the memories of these bygone days for the benefit of us, a younger generation, who have not known what it was to stand with our backs to the wall and fight fiercely for that which we now-a-days look upon as the obvious rights of every man anywhere. Mr. Nye's book does not contain much in the way of history that might not be learnt from blue-books, but no blue-book would enable us to *realise* what the imprisonment in the old factories was one tenth part so vividly as his passing reminiscence of the gentleman who never set foot out of the house for seven years, and then discovered that he hadn't a hat in the world! *Apropos* of blue-books, Mr. Nye, in telling the sad story of Lord Napier, uses over again the translations of the Chinese Repository. It is high time that these respectable and somewhat musty old documents were

retranslated into English, which they are certainly not expressed in at present. "Barbarian eye," an expression the translator, whoever he was, seems positively to have revelled in, is neither English nor sense. The Chinese original most probably had an intelligible meaning, if the translator would but have rendered it into decently readable equivalents.

Like most old residents in China, Mr. Nye takes a very lenient view of the Opium question as far as the responsibility of foreigners is concerned. We have no wish to provoke or revive a never-to-be-ended controversy, but we cannot quite agree with the *couleur de rose* view set forth in this interesting paper of the general foreign community in China just before the Opium War—for we suppose Mr. Nye means to include Whampoa and Lintin. Nobody could have handled those infamous times more delicately than Sir John Davis, who has said every good word for Opium and left unsaid every bad one that he possibly could. But nevertheless it is clear as day light, on his shewing alone, to take no other authority, that a violent and nefarious traffic was then attracting to China about as great and choice a collection of scoundrels unchanged as can well be imagined. That the mercantile community of Canton, in the more limited sense in which we at first thought Mr. Nye meant to speak of it, deserved all the praise he gives it, nobody doubts for an instant, but even there, as at present in a certain other business carried on not far from this colony an indifference as to it was exhibited, taken, by some persons, to be a great sign of a statesman-like and liberal mind. There was an utter absence of a *fixedly honest intention*. Nobody cared to know or enquire into the harm he was doing. "Please don't tell us," was the cry, virtually if not actually. What the eye didn't see the heart didn't grieve for—the trade paid far too well to be asking questions about it.

However, on these points we certainly do not expect Mr. Nye to agree with us, and can only hope that difference of opinion may not jar with literary brotherhood. We thank Mr. Nye for an amount of trouble that has been by no means thrown away."

*China Review.*

## CANTON SOCIAL EVENINGS.

G. NYE, Esq.'s lecture, entitled, "The Morning of my Life in China" (Daily Press.)

"Races, Balls, and other festivities for a time broke the continuous chain of our social evenings; business, and an indisposition on the part of the secretary, at one time threatened a total discontinuance; but as the mantle of the prophet when transferred gave threefold vigor, so the new secretary of the Canton Social Evenings seemed endued with three times the activity of his predecessor, and a general improvement in the arrangements for the comfort of lecturer and auditors was very apparent. Consequently, when Mr. Nye gave us his lecture the other night, there was a larger attendance than had been seen on any previous occasion, and the lecture was greeted with the appreciation and applause it merited.

After a graceful allusion to previous evenings Mr. Nye commenced by telling us, with an amusing and fanciful play of words, of the attraction which made him come to the "City of the Genii" (G. Nye) at Canton, as Canton is commonly called. When he arrived it was the time of the East India Company's monopoly, and Mr. Nye thus speaks of it: "The Company's system gave confidence to the Chinese government and people; on the other hand also it lent more or less protection to all foreign trade, at a period else of complete incertitude in the relations with China. We must not regard these merchants as only the pampered lords of monopoly. Far from it: they had not been simply the pioneers of intercourse; they had become great political personages; swaying the destinies of a hundred millions; the veritable Kings of the East. And while in India they governed with wisdom; in China they furnished the element of order and peace for a long period of time. Their policy in China as in India was tentative; they could impose no other at that time. Their recognised position was simply that of merchants; they could not rightly aspire to be political or moral reformers. Their steps were measured by the necessities of the hour; and surely in the eyes of the student of history, if not in those of superficial observers, it ceases to be a reproach that in India the genius of a Clive grasped the else-precarious sceptre of empire, and wrought order from chaos; as at a later period, with like intrepidity and a kindred stroke of genius, an Elliot sped to the rescue of the foreign community here; and inextricably

established the responsibility of the Court of Peking,—thus breaching the ponderous wall of exclusiveness behind which China had hidden her weakness for centuries. But now the Company's mission in China was fulfilled, for the spirit of the age was bursting the fetters of monopoly and prescription, and England's power was too well assured on the ocean by her Navy to longer require an armed merchant fleet capable of self protection,—as to a great extent the Company's fleet had been.”—Instead of the supercargoes appointed by the Company, the government of William IV. appointed Superintendents of Trade, Lord Napier, Mr. Plowden and Mr. Davis. These the Chinese refused to acknowledge. Lord and Lady Napier arrived at Macao in July, 1834, and after some months spent in fruitless endeavours to open communications with the Chinese Authorities, proclamations and counter proclamations, Lord Napier died of vexation on October 11th, and the foreigners were held disdainfully at arms' length by the Chinese for several years. In 1836 and 1837 the Chinese pretended to find a new subject of complaint with regard to the opium trade—the complaint was not on the moral but the fiscal evils of the drug, as the authorities who knew, and still know very little of political economy, fancied their country was injured by being drained of silver. In 1837 the trade in opium was interdicted by Imperial edict, and in the same year Sir Charles Elliot, who had opened communication with the authorities, was forced by the arrogance of the high officials to haul down his flag and retire to Macao. In 1838 commenced the hostility and aggravations on the part of the Chinese which led to the first opium war.\* Dealers in opium were executed outside the foreigners' doors. Some of the hong men were brought in chains to the factories. The settlement was invested by Chinese soldiers. All the Chinese servants were forced to leave their masters, and the position was such that the least mistake might have led to a general massacre. Meanwhile, Sir Charles Elliot had heard at Macao of the demands of the Commissioner, and issuing a public notice there, started in H. M.'s sloop *Larne* for the Bogue, and thence came in a cutter to a fort below the city; whence he took a boat and sword in hand passed through a cordon of mandarin boats, just as it was clos-

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\* I used no such expression as “Opium War.”  
G. N. Jr.

ing in to cut off his approach, and reached the British Factory. For the able measures Sir Charles took to avert calamity ; and for the further eventful moments, for a general description of former life in China ; for witty descriptions of the first founders of our present houses in China, we must refer the reader to the eloquent pages of Mr. Nye's lecture, but we cannot forego the pleasure of quoting the magnificent peroration :

"Let us hope that this great mart of other days will never descend to the social or commercial degradations of a little Peddlington, but that,—on the contrary,—the rights of its geographical position and safe navigation may be restored, and its true destiny,—of more than pristine greatness,—may soon be found in the prosperity that the science of the age opens to it ; that the civilizing forces of steam and electricity may soon be applied to the opening-up of the waste places of the broad 'inner land,' and in the quickening of that mutual interchange that fructifies every interest of man, and surely leads to a moral and material harvest. Let us hope that our native friends will soon learn to welcome the neighing of the Iron Horse as he careers from town to town exultingly,—seeming to say, in the consciousness of his strength, in words that my young friends will remember :—

"Harness me down with your iron bands,  
Make sure of your Curb and Rein ;  
For I scorn the power of your puny hands  
As the Tempest scorns a chain !"

#### NOTICE OF THE CHINA MAIL.

"Mr Nye introduced his subject by paying a few well-worded compliments to the gentlemen who had preceded him at the lecturer's desk and informed us in a humorous manner of the attraction that had brought him to Cathay ;

That vast shore

Washed by the farthest sea.

Mr Nye then gave us the origin of the name of Canton.

"Mr Nye has now had his lecture published, and it is, we believe, for sale. It occupies 73 pages of print, the type and paper both being admirable. We have confined our remarks to the first nine pages, but the whole is so good we have difficulty

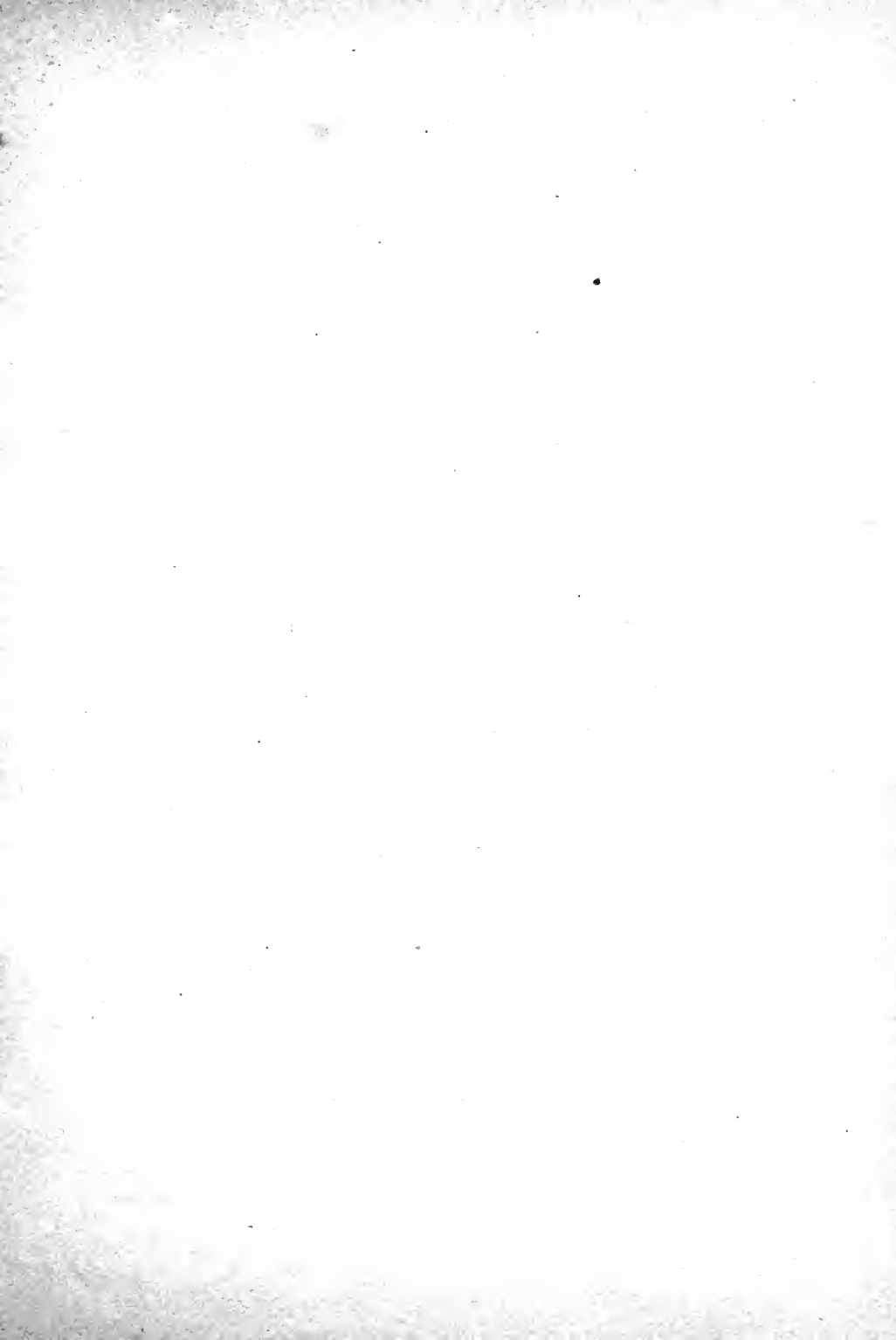
in choosing passages, and we conclude by earnestly recommending the book to those who love terse and vigorous English, as well as to those who wish to be informed as to our early intercourse with the vast Empire of China."

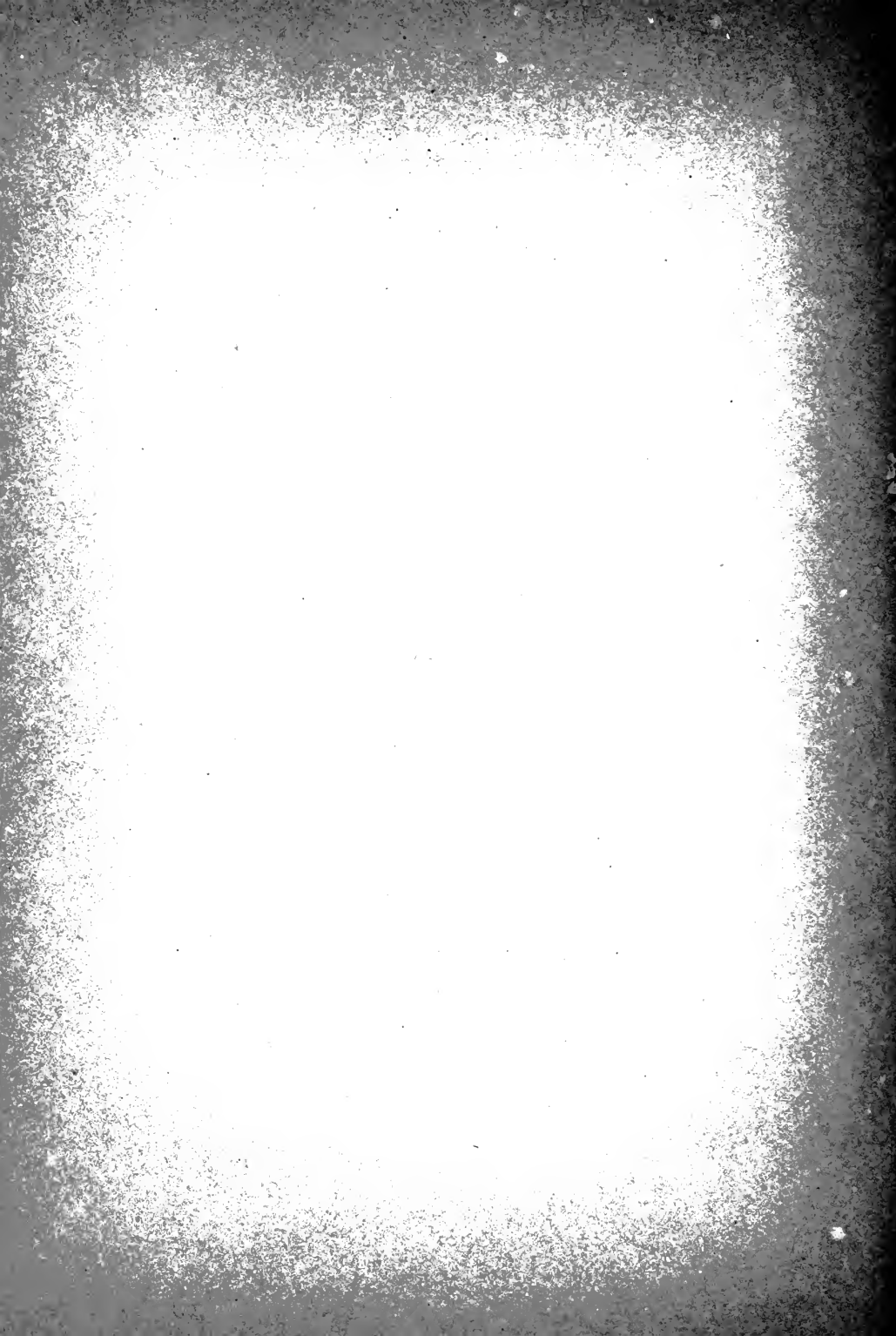
An old resident who used to visit China periodically wrote the Author, after reading the first Lecture, as follows.—

"I cannot resist the pleasure of writing to you to say how much I have enjoyed the perusal of your Canton Lecture,—The "Morning of my Life in China :—so exact and graphic in all the details :—I have been deeply interested in it from having been in China at the time and remembering so clearly many of the circumstances you have related."—

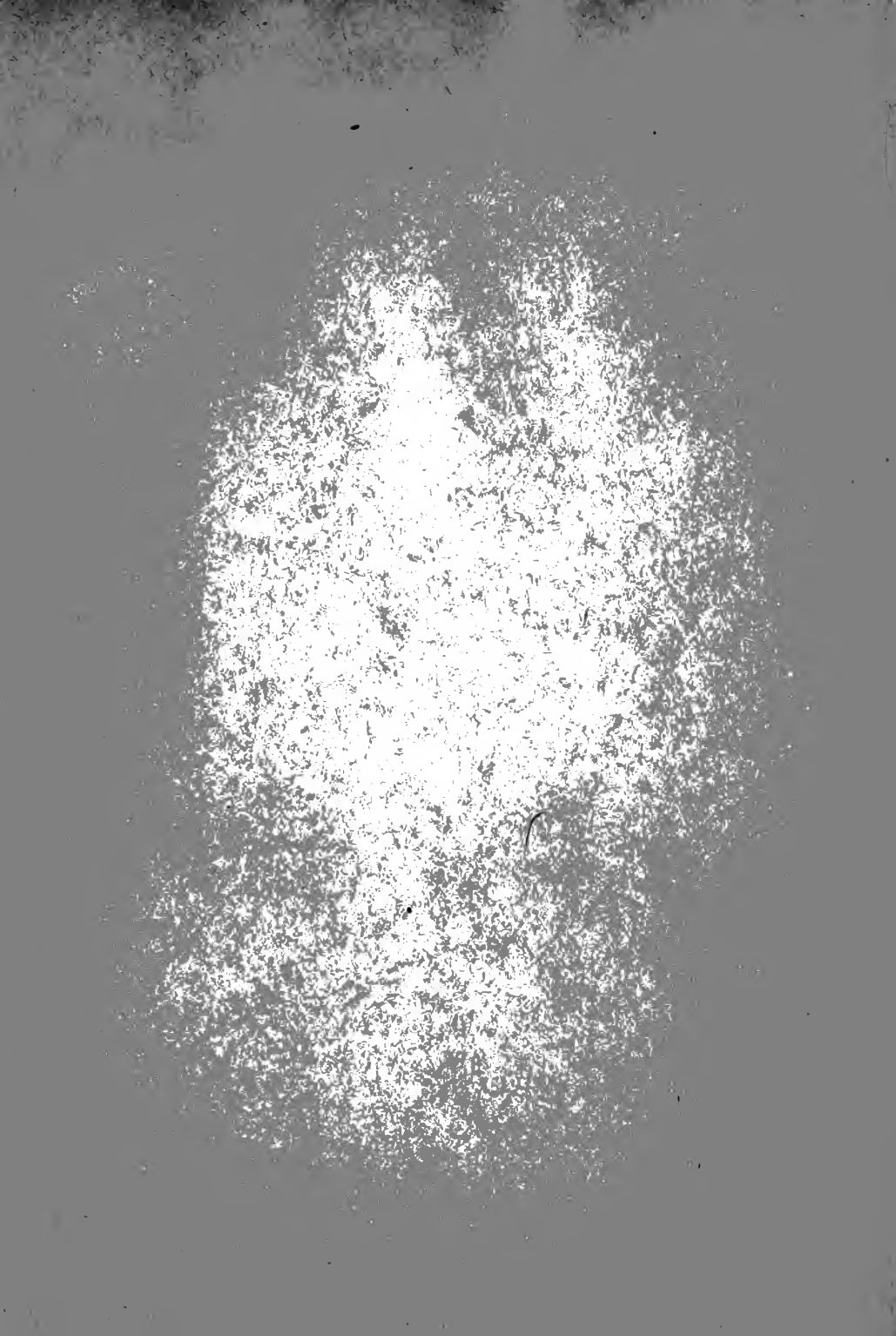
Another old resident also wrote the author as follows.—

"I sincerely hope you will be able to get your book out, for if any one can give an interesting story of China you can ; and I dare say the book itself will prove a great success."









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